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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

BY

DEBORAH A. BARRETT ©

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
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The undersigned certify that they have read and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance a thesis entitled "The Contributions of Personal Development to Community Development," submitted by Deborah Anne Barrett in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science.

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Supervisor

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Richard Price ....

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Date June 13, 1989

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the relationship between personal development and community development in the communities of Alkali Lake and O'Chiese where personal development, initially in the form of alcoholism treatment, appears to have evolved into community development.

The major approaches to community development are reviewed, and the difficulty of promoting development without creating dependency is noted. The contributions of the personal development literature to the thought and process of community development are outlined.

The impact that alcoholism treatment had on the community development processes in these communities is presented, based largely on document study. Interviews of community developers and members of the O'Chiese Community Development Team provided data from which an analysis of the way in which personal development contributes to community development was made. Elements of the personal development process which contribute to community development were identified, and the relationship between the community members' changing perceptions of themselves and the dynamics of change in the community is outlined.

Personal development transformed these communities, creating the environment required for an effective self-help process, and for effective use of socio-economic and technical assistance. Personal development may contribute to the major approaches to community development and may unify them into a comprehensive community development process which promotes development without creating dependency.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis may not have been written were it not for my son, Joseph. It was my experience of his precious life and death that plunged me into my own personal development process out of which arose, among other things, the idea for this thesis.

Many other people contributed to this thesis as well. My husband, Bob, bravely read and criticized draft after draft, helping me to focus my ideas and communicate them clearly. His encouragement was sustaining. I must also mention my daughter, Jessica, and my son, Anthony, who was born in the middle of this project, because they have been delightful part of my personal experience as I worked on the thesis.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

Community development has, as its goal, the improvement of well-being both for the individuals within the community and for the community as a whole. Community development has generally been approached by implementing planned changes in the economic, social, political or cultural life of a community.

On two Indian Reserves, Alkali Lake in British Columbia and O'Chiese in Alberta, community development interventions were not planned but evolved out of initiatives taken by individuals to address their alcohol addictions. Both Indian Bands suffered from almost 100% alcoholism. Ten years later, Alkali Lake was 95% sober. At O'Chiese, after only two years, sobriety was becoming the norm in the community.

But sobriety was not the only result. As individuals participated in alcohol treatment programs and pursued further personal development training, they came together to create community development programs that were meaningful to their communities and which facilitated the pursuit of individual goals. The focus of the processes at Alkali Lake and O'Chiese has been on the experience and development of the individual, yet community development has been a result.

Purpose and Objectives

At Alkali Lake and O'Chiese, community development grew out of personal development initiatives. It is the purpose of this thesis toinvestigate the relationship between personal development and community development in the context of these communities to see what contribution personal development may make to the field of community development.

To fulfill this purpose three objectives have been set out. The first objective is to gain an overview of the impact the treatment of individual alcohol addictions had on the community development process in these communities. The second is to identify elements of the personal development process which may contribute to community development. And the third objective is to explore the relationship between the individual's perception of self and the dynamics of change in the community.

A Definition of Personal Development

Underlying the concept of personal development is the assumption that the drive to creativity, productivity and development exists within individuals but may need to be healed and/or nurtured.[1] Abraham Maslow suggests that "if [our inner nature] is permitted to guide our life, we grow healthy, fruitful, and happy."[2] The Human Development Program pioneered by Palomares and Ball recognizes that

---

[1] Abraham H. Maslow, *Toward a Psychology of Being.* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1968), pp. 3-5.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

> human beings possess...the innate desire to learn, create and excel, but that the human predisposition to cooperate and achieve can be easily thwarted or misdirected and is actualized only through appropriate guidance and training.[1]

Personal development, then, addresses the process by which growth or improvement in physical, mental, emotional and spiritual well-being occurs in individuals as they become increasingly aware of their inner experience and allow it to guide their lives. Personal development is used in this thesis to mean a healing and/or growth process in which self-awareness is facilitated in a variety of ways including psychotherapy, addictions treatment, and interpersonal communications training.

Significance of the Thesis

Community development is necessarily practical in nature. Theory is constructed, operationalized and practiced in the field. Flaws in community development theory will ultimately result in unsuccessful community development practices. In general terms, an exploratory study of this nature offers feedback which can help to refine community development theory. Documentation of a specific community development process offers practitioners new information which they can use to assess, evaluate and modify current community development practices.

This thesis also has more specific theoretical and practical significance. In theory community development is multidisciplinary, yet much of the available literature focuses on socio-economic approaches to development. This study may help to broaden the spectrum of approaches to community development by exploring a process which has integrated some of the concepts of humanistic psychology with the practice of community development.

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[1] Uvaldo Palomares and Gerry Ball, *Grounds for Growth*, (Spring Valley, California: Palomares and Associates, 1980), p. 15.

On the practical side, the current situation on Alberta Indian Reserves reflects a need for more effective community development programs. Indian Reserves in Alberta are generally much less developed than other predominantly non-Indian Alberta communities. Social and economic indicators of development reveal high levels of poverty, illiteracy, alcohol and substance addiction, violence, and mortality.[1] Monies for improving the physical infrastructure, for capital expansion, job creation, education and training have been poured into these communities[2] yet they remain underdeveloped relative to the surrounding non-Native communities. This situation frustrates community development workers, often leading to "burn out" and apathy. Many band members continue to live a desperate, isolated, and chaotic existence. The way in which community development grew out of personal development initiatives at Alkali Lake and O'Chiese may offer a new perspective on community development to Indian bands in Alberta.

---

[1] For a complete survey of these conditions see Canada Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, *Indian Conditions: A Survey*, (Ottawa: Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1980).

[2] In the Alberta Region, the 1986/87 Budget Expenditures for Indian and Northern Affairs Canada were as follows: Education $73,715,800; Band Support and Capital Management, $59,561,739; Social Development, $44,097,000; Personnel Costs, $18,805,400; Economic and Employment Development, $9,443,000; Program Management, $1,143,200; Lands, Revenues and Trusts, $663,800. The population of treaty Indians in Alberta is approximately 50,000. Source: Canada Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Alberta Region, *Funding and Services*, (Edmonton, Alberta: Indian and Northern Affairs, Alberta Region, 1988), p. 34.

Methodology

The research for this study was done in four stages. The first stage involved a review of the development literature in order to see what place individual development might have in the theory of community development.

The second stage of the research included gaining an overview of the process through which personal development has evolved into community development at Alkali Lake and O'Chiese. Data were gathered mainly from document studies and personal interviews.

The third stage of the research focused on gaining a practical understanding of the place of personal development in the community development process. Data were gathered by conducting individual, unstructured interviews with four resource people involved in personal and community development with Indian communities.

Finally, the fourth stage of the research involved visiting the O'Chiese community to gain more specific data regarding the impact personal development has had on individuals and on community life. A Community Development Team meeting was observed and an open-ended group interview with some Band members and other members of the Community Development Team was conducted.

Limitations of this Thesis

This thesis is meant to be exploratory in nature. Its purpose is to gain insight into the ways in which personal development has contributed to the community development processes at Alkali Lake and O'Chiese. The focus of this study is to gather explanations, insights and understanding from people who have been involved in this type of process - the community developers and members of the communities.

Community development is multidisciplinary in nature. Due to the individual nature of personal development, however, this study has emphasized concepts from humanistic psychology which can be integrated with current community development theory and practice.

This study did not lend itself to quantitative research for a number of reasons: 1) The data sought were of a personal and experiential nature and are essentially qualitative. 2) There were linguistic and cultural considerations. English is a second language for the majority of the Saulteaux-speaking O'Chiese community. Many of the people are not familiar enough with written, or even spoken English in some cases, to complete a written survey. 3) The Band Manager expressed the opinion that the people of O'Chiese felt that they had made their contribution to the university community by allowing a Master's student from the University of Calgary to study them and did not desire to be studied further.[1]

---

[1] In fact it was only because the people of O'Chiese were so intensely interested in personal development and its relationship to community development that the researcher received the goodwill necessary to proceed with the unstructured interviews.

Certain quantitative data regarding indicators of social problems including suicides, homicides, violence and sexual abuse were not available to the researcher due to their sensitive nature. Had these been available, they would likely have been useful in order to make quantitative comparisons about the communities before the current community development processes and at present.

Time and money were also limiting factors in this study. The data from O'Chiese contribute to a deeper understanding of the personal development process as experienced by individuals. Had it been possible to spend more time in the O'Chiese community, the researcher could have observed a broader range of behaviors, and perhaps discussed a broader range of experiences. For example, this researcher did not observe interpersonal conflict situations, although interviewees referred to previous conflicts. It would have been useful to observe the way conflict is presently treated in this community. This would have contributed to a deeper understanding of the relationship between personal and community development.

Had time and money permitted, it would also have been interesting to visit Alkali Lake in order to observe and interview the people in that community. As it was, the researcher had to rely on data from documents and personal interviews with people familiar with the Alkali Lake community. Thus the data from Alkali Lake contribute to a more general understanding of the community development process as it evolved, rather than a deeper understanding of the ways in which individuals perceived their personal development processes to have contributed to the development of their community.

Organization of this Thesis

This thesis investigates the relationship of personal development to community development in the context of two communities. The objectives of the study, its significance and a brief outline of the methodologies used have been summarized in Chapter I.

Chapter II reviews the development literature from a variety of sources including human resources development, community development, economic and social development, psychology and education. The major approaches to community development are noted and the ways in which personal development may contribute to the field of community development are discussed.

Data were sought from community developers and individuals in the communities who were involved with the development of the communities. The methodology used to collect these data is detailed in Chapter III.

Chapter IV presents an overview of the process by which personal development, in the form of alcoholism treatment, evolved into community development processes at Alkali Lake and O'Chiese. The communities are described in terms of their backgrounds and socio-economic situations prior to this process, as well as their present situations.

Chapter V presents an analysis of the personal development process and relates this to the community development processes which evolved in the communities.

Finally, Chapter VI summarizes the data, presents conclusions and recommends areas for further research.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

Community development is a multidisciplinary field. Depending on the discipline and goals of the practitioner, different approaches to community development may be taken. A review of the literature reveals that community development is frequently approached from an economic or socio-economic perspective. Christenson, in his review of community development journals, notes three broad approaches to community development: the technical assistance approach, the conflict approach and the self-help approach.[1] These major approaches to community development are reviewed in this chapter. The dependency theory of underdevelopment is relevant to community development and is reviewed here as well, although it is not an approach to community development *per se*.

Personal development is not generally regarded as an approach to community development. However, the concepts from humanistic psychology that contribute to personal development and Rogers' person-centered approach to community building have much to offer the field of community development and are also reviewed.

---

[1] James A. Christenson, "Three Themes of Community Development," in *Community Development in America*, eds. James A. Christenson and Jerry W. Robinson (Ames, Iowa: The Iowa State University Press, 1980), p. 38.

A Definition of Community

Christenson and Robinson have reviewed the literature surrounding the concept of community. They have identified four elements which are central to a definition of community. These are:

1. *People*, the essential element in community.
2. *An area or territory*, which they feel to be an integral part of community despite the fact that communities are sometimes seen as having open or flexible boundaries.
3. *Social interaction.* This concept suggests that individuals are mutually interdependent, but also connotes the ways in which people organize themselves in order to achieve desired ends, including norms, customs and institutions.
4. *Psychological identification.* Christenson and Robinson suggest that individuals feel an attachment to certain localities where they shop, work, and have friends and neighbors.[1]

Putting these elements together, Christenson and Robinson offer the following definition of community.

> a community is defined and best described by the following elements: (1) people (2) within a geographically bounded area (3) involved in social interaction and (4) with one or more psychological ties with each other and with the place they live.[2]

---

[1] James A. Christenson and Jerry W. Robinson, Jr., eds., "In Search of Community Development," in *Community Development in America*, (Ames, Iowa: The Iowa State University Press, 1980), pp. 5-6.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

Concepts of Development

Lawrence E. Harrison defines development broadly as "improvement in human well-being."[1]

Palomares and Ball state that

> At the conscious level people are aware of two worlds: the outer world of objects and events which they perceive through their five senses, and the inner world - sensory contact with inner events including sensations, thoughts and feelings.[2]

The distinction between inner and outer worlds of conscious awareness is essential to the understanding of human well-being. Well-being is experienced by individuals. It is part of their inner life of sensation, thought and feeling. But there are also outward indicators of well-being. These range from an individual's physical expressions, such as smiles and laughter, to performance in a variety of activities. There are also outward indicators of the general well-being of a community, nation or society. These might include such things as technological advancement, *per capita* income, and rates of employment, family breakdown, crime and suicide. While outward indicators may measure human well-being, it is important not to confuse the indicator with the experience of well-being itself.

Depending on how one thinks that human well-being might best be improved, different visions of development arise. Christenson and Robinson point out that "development implies improvement, growth and change."[1] Each connotation of development suggests different goals which in turn imply different processes.

---

[1] Lawrence E. Harrison, *Underdevelopment is a State of Mind*, (Cambridge Massachussetts: Harvard University, The Center for International Affairs, 1985), p. 1.

[2] Uvaldo Palomares and Gerry Ball, *Grounds for Growth*, (Spring Valley, California: Palomares and Associates, 1980), p. 23.

When development is seen as improvement it suggests

> social transformation in the direction of more egalitarian distribution of social goods such as education, health services, housing, participation in political decision making, and other dimensions of people's life chances.

As growth, development "focuses on economic prosperity" and

> includes the institutional transformation of structures to facilitate technological advancement and improvements in technology, production and distribution of goods and services.

When seen as change, development suggests "putting a particular ideological orientation into action to restructure the social normative and economic order for desired ends."[2]

Approaches to community development arise out of these various connotations of development. A review of the major approaches follows.

The Socio-Economic and Technical Assistance Approaches

Traditionally, those involved in development have focused on the outer aspects of human life. Primarily, development has been defined in economic or socio-economic terms as indicated by the following United Nations statement:

---

[1] Christenson and Robinson, Jr., "In Search of Community Development," p. 7.

[2] *Ibid.*

> In theory, and in practice, development has meant economic growth measured by macro-economic indicators such as gross national product and *per capita* income. A country is considered to be undergoing development largely when increases are recorded by these indicators. To the extent that expansion occurs in such social services as health, education and nutrition, this is largely viewed as necessary for facilitating economic growth.[1]

Frederick H. Harbison suggests that

> the term [human resources development] connotes man in relationship to the world of work, and such work involves producing things and providing services of all kinds in the social, political, cultural, and economic development of nations.[2]

These definitions imply that development is synonymous with economic growth. Other dimensions of human experience are not addressed in the socio-economic approach to development, except as they are necessary to facilitate economic growth.

Harbison explains:

> The "human resources approach" to national development, therefore, is people-oriented, though it does not presume to encompass the full range of human ambitions or endeavors. Man may work to live; hopefully he lives for more than work. Indeed, the energies and skills of people as members of the labor force are but one dimension of human development which embraces as well the thoughts, motives, beliefs, feelings, aspirations, and culture of human beings beyond and outside of work. But in economic terms, the wealth of a nation can be expressed in terms of the level of development and the

---

[1] United Nations, *Popular Participation as a Strategy for Promoting Community-Level Action and National Development*, (New York, 1981), p. 2.

[2] Frederick H. Harbison, *Human Resources as the Wealth of Nations.* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 3-4.

> effectiveness of the utilization of human energies, skills and knowledge for useful purposes.[1]

When development is thought of as improved economic activity, certain goals emerge.

> The goals of development are the maximum possible utilization of human beings in productive activity and the fullest possible utilization of human beings in development of the skills, knowledge, and capacities of the labor force. If these goals are pursued, then others such as economic growth, higher levels of living, and more equitable distribution of income are thought to be the likely consequences.[2]

Efforts should, therefore, be directed toward developing

> the energies, skills, talent, and knowledge of people which are, or which potentially can or should be, applied to the production of goods or the rendering of useful services.[3]

Thus the socio-economic approach to development is based on the view that development means economic growth. The purpose of development, therefore, is to help individuals and communities to develop the skills, knowledge, and infrastructure that will contribute to the growth of the economy.

Associated with the socio-economic approach to community development is the technical assistance approach. Technical assistance is provided to communities to help them to "strengthen the capacities of recipients to improve their performance with respect to an inherent or assigned function."[1] Frequently, the goal of technical assistance approach is to improve the socio-economic performance of communities.

---

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*, preface.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

The technical assistance approach to development is based on the assumption that underdeveloped communities do not have the inherent ability or willingness to undertake development on their own behalf. Therefore, developers must provide the communities with guidance and assistance in choosing appropriate goals and the methods to achieve them.

> Modern-day technical assistance efforts are predominantly associated with the desire of the provider to enable the recipients to do what the recipients are incapable of doing or unwilling to do on their own. That is, the provider is committed to some goal that, if it is to be attained, requires an adoption of particular skills or technologies by the recipient. Additionally, the provider is unwilling to wait for "natural" means of technology transfer to reach the recipient and is unwilling or unable to directly take over the recipients' responsibilities.
>
> The preceding statements do not exclude the fact that technical assistance efforts are often initiated at the request of or welcomed by recipients. Instead, the intent here is to suggest that the recent rapid growth of technical assistance can be most often traced to the interests of the providers.[2]

There are three target areas for technical assistance approaches to community development. When community decision making is a target area, communities are assisted in assessing their status, and determining both the directions they want to pursue and the means of implementing the changes. When community resource development is the focus, communities are provided assistance in developing their human and material resources. They are assisted in adapting to change or in pursuing new directions. The third target area for technical assistance approaches is community task performance. In this case, communities are provided assistance to ensure that goals are achieved, that the programs provide maximum benefits to the clients, and that programs are appropriately administered and meet accountability requirements.[1]

---

[1] Larry Gamm and Frederick Fisher, "The Technical Assistance Approach," in *Community Development in America*, ed. by James A. Christenson and Jerry W. Robinson, Jr., (Ames, Iowa: The Iowa State University Press, 1980), p. 48.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

Implementation of Socio-Economic and/or Technical Assistance Approaches

When economic productivity is seen as the goal and a technical assistance approach to development is taken, a certain type of development process emerges. Although it is no longer in effect, the Alberta Human Resources Development Act of 1967 illustrates one way in which the socio-economic or technical assistance approaches to development may be implemented when the implicit goal is increased economic productivity.

> 3.(1) The functions of the Authority are to develop, co-ordinate and supervise provincial and regional programs and services to encourage and help individuals and communities develop their human resource to their fullest potential and in particular, but without affecting the generality of the foregoing,
>
> (a) to undertake or sponsor economic and social research necessary to determine the human and physical resources development problems and potentials in any specified area,
>
> (b) to foster awareness among local people of their individual opportunities and their communities' problems and potentials and to assist and involve local people in the

---

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

> preparation of social and economic development goals, and
>
> (c) to implement and assist in the implementation of projects designed to increase income and employment opportunities in underdeveloped urban and rural areas and raise standards of living therein.[1]

The recent Human Resources Strategy of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada provides another example of the way a socio-economic or technical assistance approach to development may be implemented.

> An approach to economic and social development that is being used with considerable success by some Indian and Inuit communities focuses on human resources through a process including:
>
> - assessing the ambitions, skills, capabilities and aptitudes of the human resources (community members) in the work force or about to enter the work force;
> - identifying existing and potential economic and employment opportunities on and off the reserve relating to the potential of these human resources;
> - establishing the community's priorities in developing one or more of the opportunities identified and setting medium and longer term objectives to realize their goals;
> - assessing the support for training, economic development and related topics available from the community, different levels of government, and other sources;
> - developing a comprehensive, long-term strategy to co-ordinate training and economic development programs and help community members through each step of the

---

[1] Alberta, *The Human Resources Development Authority Act*, (1967), c. 176, sec. 3.

> process until they are fully participating in and benefitting from the economic opportunities."[1]

In both of the above examples it appears that the community development initiatives are those of the assistance providers. While the communities may be consulted, and will be involved in the process, it is clear that they will be invited to participate in a process in which the overall goal of socio-economic development has already been decided by the assistance providers. Assistance will be provided to help communities determine more specifically what their precise goals are and how they will achieve them.

Criticisms of Socio-economic and Technical Assistance Approaches to Community Development

Gamm and Fisher note that there are some obvious problems with the technical assistance approach. They suggest that

> the more we attempt to impose technical assistance from the outside the more we come to realize it does not work either as often or as well as those involved had hoped it would.[2]

William E. Koenker warns that a narrow socio-economic or technical assistance approach to development is dangerous.

> Underlying all of our discussion concerning human resource development has been the assumption that the nation should provide challenging educational and employment opportunities to all persons with talent. The objective of enabling every

---

[1] Canada Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, *Indian Community Human Resource Strategies*, (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1985), p. 2.

[2] Gamm and Fisher, "The Technical Assistance Approach," p. 59.

> person to have maximum opportunity to achieve the potentiality that lies within him is important in terms of realizing our national goals...Kenneth Boulding, in a manpower council meeting in 1953, provided a sharp warning that the whole manpower utilization concept was dangerous if it was thought of in terms of increasing physical outputs. Therefore, even though we may use the term "more effective utilization of human resources," we need to keep in mind his injunction that we talk about men in their "infinite variety and sacredness."[1]

Koenker's notion of development includes achieving improvement in the experience of human well-being by enabling individuals to actualize their potentials. He warns that it is dangerous to think of development only in terms of increasing physical outputs. Why might this be dangerous? If physical output, as an indicator of development, is confused with actualization of potential it is possible that efforts may be directed toward increasing physical output by any means, perhaps even by discouraging actualization of potential. The goal of improving human well-being, to be achieved through facilitating the actualization of individual potential, may in fact be overlooked.

Indicators of development such as economic productivity and technological advancement are seductive because they emerge from the outer world of objects and events which can be measured and manipulated. Potential is not so easily perceived, measured or realized. It is something that belongs to the inner experience of individuals and develops from the inside out. Abraham Maslow explains.

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[1] William E. Koenker, "Needed Directions in Human Resource Development for the College Bound," in *Human Resources Development*, ed. by Edward B. Jakubauskas and C. Phillip Baumel, (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1967), p. 134.

> Man demonstrates *in his own nature* a pressure toward fuller and fuller Being, more and more perfect actualization of his humanness...Man is ultimately *not* molded or shaped into humanness, or taught to be human. The role of the environment is ultimately to permit him or help him to actualize *his own* potentialities, not *its* potentialities. The environment does not give him potentialities and capacities; he *has* them...It doesn't implant him with the ability to love, or to be curious, or to philosophize, or to symbolize, or to be creative. Rather it permits, or fosters, or encourages or helps what exists in embryo to become real and actual.[1]

Maslow suggests that individuals must trust their inner natures to guide their development, and that the environment presents opportunities for individuals to actualize their potentials. When technical or socio-economic assistance is provided to individuals, and communities, they are discouraged from trusting their unique experience to guide their development. Their efforts are directed in ways that are dictated by external authorities. Rather than opening up the possibilities for development, this process may limit the ways in which individuals and communities could potentially develop. In this type of process individuals and communities may find themselves unable to actualize their potential because they learn to discount their own unique inner experience. Perhaps the socio-economic and technical assistance approaches to development are not as successful as hoped because individuals and communities need to become aware of and develop their own potentials which cannot be seen or directed from the outside.

When development is thought of as moving from inner experience to outer expression, economic productivity and technological advancement may be thought of as *expressions* of development rather than synonymous with development. When development is seen in this way, it becomes clear that the inner dimension of human experience must be considered if improvement in human well-being is to be achieved.

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[1] Abraham H. Maslow, *Toward a Psychology of Being*, (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1968), pp. 160-161.

Harold L. Sheppard argues specifically that the socio-psychological perspective, which deals more directly with the inner world of individuals, may complement the socio-economic and technical assistance approaches to development. In fact it may be necessary to delve into socio-psychological dimensions in order to increase the effectiveness of socio-economic/technical assistance programs.

> If we are really serious about a comprehensive program of human resource development, we cannot continue to run away from those aspects of our problems which relate to the socio-psychological dimensions. [This] emphasis...is not a substitute for all the more easily accepted programs having to do with vocational training and retraining, regional economic development and our fiscal and monetary policies. The emphasis is on one more *additional* set of factors that must be coped with in order to raise the probability of success of those programs and policies...
>
> The challenge in the years to come will not primarily be to conduct more and more research but rather to seek those techniques, those methods and new programs that can be used to improve such things as family structure and human motivation and self-conceptions.[1]

The Dependency Theory of Underdevelopment

The socio-economic and technical assistance approaches to community development have also been criticized because they are based upon the

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[1] Harold L. Sheppard. "The Concept and Problems of Human Resources Development" in *Human Resources Development*, ed. by Edward B. Jakubauskas and C. Phillip Baumel, (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1967), p. 35.

> erroneous view...that the development of underdeveloped countries...must and will be generated or stimulated by diffusing capital, institutions, values, etc., to them from the international and national capitalist metropoles.[1]

Proponents of the dependency theory of underdevelopment believe that dependency is inherent in the relationship between the more developed metropole and the less developed satellite areas. The metropole is seen as exploiting the resources of the satellites. In so doing it provides capital and promotes the adoption of its values, institutions, and methods within the satellites, the acceptance of which robs the satellites of independence, confidence, and the creativity that is necessary to the discovery of new, unique and successful ways of developing that are appropriate to their culture. A relationship of dependency results. Andre Gunder Frank, drawing from his experience and observations in Latin America, puts forth the hypothesis that "the satellites will experience their greatest economic development...if and when their ties to their metropolis are weakest."[2]

From his studies of Newfoundland, David Alexander has come to share this view. He suggests that the greatest contributions, economic or otherwise, that a community or nation may make to the world community lie in its uniqueness rather than in its similarities.

> Obeisance to the accomplishments of the modal society and to it as the source of all creativity, leads via replication of structures to the destruction of non-economic correlates. The result is a loss of social and cultural variety in the world, and hence of examples of alternative ways of living for all to

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[1] Andre Gunder Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment," *Monthly Review*, (September, 1966):18.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 24.

consider. This can have material consequences since it implies the elimination of the production of commodities and services which have their roots in cultural distinctiveness, a view eloquently stated by Osvaldo Sunkel.

> "A nation must use its traditions, culture, values, institutions and history to create and achieve its own process of development and national realization. To substitute imported ingredients for these elements is to destroy the essence of the nation and to convert its inhabitants into outcasts, both from their own history and from that of the advanced societies. What is required is a process of modernization which is at once imitative and creative, based on a deliberate and conscious selection of what is authentically universal in modern civilization and culture, and based on an imagination which can construct with these elements the politics, institutions, ideologies and other instruments of national development."[1]

Alexander also distinguishes between underdevelopment and dependency.

> It is useful, although not always customary, to distinguish between underdevelopment and dependence. A peasant economy may be underdeveloped relative to its material and human resources, or some external definition of how much these could produce, but none the less enjoy a high degree of self-determination. An industrial economy, such as Canada's may be highly developed in terms of its facto productivity but extremely dependent. In the North American context, Newfoundland is an example of an underdeveloped and a dependent economy in that its productivity is relatively low (as suggested by prevailing wage rates) and its self-determination extremely limited.[2]

Alexander suggests that both underdevelopment and dependency can be recognized by certain outward indicators.

> A condition of underdevelopment may be indicated by low per capita income and an input-output structure with relatively few domestic inter-industry transactions. Dependence,

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[1] David G. Alexander, "Development and Dependence in Newfoundland," 1880-1970," in *Atlantic Canada and Confederation: Essays in Canadian Political Economy*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), p. 24.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

> on the other hand, can subsist with comparatively high per capita income, and is suggested by such things as a high ratio of foreign transactions to domestic product, a high average and marginal propensity to import, a growth rate determined by one or a few trading partners, and a heavy dependence upon external direct investment, management, and entrepreneurship.[1]

Here, Alexander has identified external structures which not only indicate an existing relationship of dependency, but which also tend to maintain such a relationship. But dependency is not a result of outer structures alone; there is also an inner, psychological aspect to dependency which may also impede development. Augusto Salazar Bondy notes that

> Underdevelopment is not just a collection of statistical indices which enable a socio-economic picture to be drawn. It is also a state of mind, a way of expression, a form of outlook and a collective personality marked by chronic infirmities and forms of maladjustment.[2]

The dependency theory of underdevelopment, then, criticizes the socio-economic approach to development because it promotes dependent social, economic and political relationships which tend to maintain the underdevelopment of the satellites. The methods, values and institutions of developed societies, however, should not be discounted completely for they provide alternatives which satellite nations or communities may choose to implement where appropriate. But dependent communities or nations are composed of "people [who] are suffering 'from self-doubt, collective inertia and resentment, a syndrome characteristic of defeated peoples.'"[1] In such a situation, people seldom realize that they have the power to make appropriate choices for themselves or their community. Instead, they tend to see power as being outside of themselves, in other individuals or, from a community perspective, in the metropoles. They see themselves as being victims of an unjust situation.

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Bondy, Augusto Salazar, quoted by Lawrence E. Harrison in *Underdevelopment is a State of Mind*, (Cambridge, Massachussetts: Harvard University, The Center for International Affairs, 1985), preface.

How might communities or individuals who currently experience dependent relationships establish independent relationships which will foster development without dependency? Dependency theorists, in their desire not to create dependency, do not offer a recommendation for action. Instead they hope that the underdeveloped and dependent peoples themselves will somehow come up with a workable solution for their development. Frank notes that

> Though science and truth know no national boundaries, it is probably new generations of scientists from the underdeveloped countries themselves who most need to, and best can, devote the necessary attention to these problems and clarify the process of underdevelopment and development. It is their people who in the last analysis face the task of changing this no longer acceptable process and eliminating this miserable reality.[2]

But the very fact that these peoples are dependent lessens their chances of finding an appropriate solution to the problems of development.

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[1] David G. Alexander, "New Notions of Happiness: Nationalism, Regionalism and Atlantic Canada," in *Atlantic Canada and Confederation: Essays in Canadian Political Economy*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), p. 91.

[2] Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment," p. 30.

The Conflict Approach

While the dependency theory of underdevelopment focuses more on the structural aspects of dependency, the conflict approach addresses the psychological aspects of dependency that contribute to underdevelopment. Conflict is regarded by its advocates as essential in moving community members from an apathetic acceptance of the status quo to actively participating in shaping their own destinies and achieving a more equal distribution of resources.

Three notions are central to the conflict approach to community development. The first is justice

> which stresses that there should be more equal distribution of resources in society and usually focuses on those outside the power structure (e.g., the poor, minorities).[1]

The second notion is power.

> Advocates of conflict believe that subjugation of people to the status quo is wrong. Conflict, contrary to some other movements in a community, usually involves the powerless versus the powerful. However, the powerless may not be deeply enough involved or skillful enough to proclaim their needs. They may not have the time, skill, or motivation to implement and maintain an effective program of conflict.[2]

Saul Alinsky notes that there is much aversion to the notion of power. It often has connotations of corruption and immorality. But he suggests that "Power is the very essence of life, the dynamo of life....Power is an essential life force always in operation, either changing circumstances or opposing change."[1] It is the function of the change agent to help community members realize and use their power to change their circumstances.

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[1] Christenson, "Three Themes of Community Development," p. 44.

[2] Jerry W. Robinson, Jr., "The Conflict Approach," in *Community Development in America*, ed. by James A. Christenson and Jerry W. Robinson, Jr., (Ames, Iowa: The Iowa State University Press, 1980), p.76.

The third notion essential to the conflict approach is an ethical one: the dignity of individuals must be respected. This means that individual community members must be allowed to play an active role, to participate as fully as possible, in solving their problems. Therefore it must be the programs of the people and not those of the change agent that are implemented. The change agent does not lead but acts in an advisory capacity, helping community members to organize themselves effectively. What happens if the program of the people discriminates against others? Must the change agent accept this type of program because it comes from the people? Robinson quotes Laue and Cormick as suggesting that before committing to certain programs of action, the change agent must always ask

> Does the intervention contribute to the ability of relatively powerless individuals and groups in the situation to determine their own destinies to the greatest extent consistent with the common good?[2]

Strategies in Community Conflicts

Advocates of the conflict approach to community development make use of the psychological aspects of conflict to motivate citizens to participate in community development. Saul Alinsky suggests that community members often are well organized around a "very negative form of existence." The people in the community

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[1] Saul Alinsky, *From Citizen Apathy to Participation*, (Chicago, Illinois: Industrial Areas Foundation, 1957), p. 6.

[2] Robinson, "The Conflict Approach," p. 83.

> may have experienced successive frustrations to the point that their will to participate has seemingly atrophied. They may be living in anonymity and starved for personal recognition. They may have accepted anonymity and resigned in apathy. They may despair and feel hopeless about their children inheriting a little better world....They may in short have surrendered - but life goes on in an organized form;[1]

The change agent disrupts this negative organization by playing on the feelings of community members. By fanning the flames of discontent, and "rubbing raw the resentments" the agent heightens citizens' awareness of injustices and the unequal distribution of resources. This is considered essential because people must feel deeply about the injustice before they will act.[2] The agent helps the community to focus on specific injustices and then demonstrates that successful action can be taken to change these circumstances by citing other instances in which communities have successfully taken action to make the desired changes. Once community members are agitated to the point of taking action, the change agent helps to organize people to create a "power instrument with which to implement or realize their desires or needs, or their program."[3]

Jerry Robinson, Jr., notes three main strategies involving community conflict:

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[1] Alinsky, *From Citizen Apathy to Participation,* p. 3.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid,* p. 7.

1. *Conflict can be utilized* to pressure the prevailing power structure into making the desired changes in the redistribution of resources. This is usually accomplished by organizing large numbers of community members to put pressure on the power structure indirectly, and by making realistic compromises.

2. *Conflict can be prevented.* This method is generally used by the prevailing power structure in order to maintain the status quo or by a preventer to keep an issue from becoming a conflict. Conflicts may be prevented by fragmenting the conflict, co-opting the leadership, employing outside experts who espouse established positions, conducting an educational program, or implementing a public relations campaign.[1]

3. *Conflict can be managed* so that both sides are heard and arrive with a new and creative decision that both parties can live with. This is regarded by Robinson as being the most effective method. Essentially, the steps in managing conflicts include initiating dialogue objectively, involving all parties and listening to their feelings without judging, assimilating feelings and information, reinforcing agreements, negotiating differences, and solidifying agreements.[2]

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[1] Robinson, "The Conflict Approach," pp. 89-90.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

The Value of Conflict

Robinson notes that, in his review of articles in the *Journal of the Community Development Society*,

> few write about the science of conflict as a planned process. Perhaps the emotional value orientation and action stance of conflict prohibit this involvement.[1]

While uncomfortable and unsettling, conflict does fulfill several functions. These have been summarized by Coser as follows:

> 1. Conflict permits internal dissension and dissatisfaction to rise to the surface and enables a group to restructure itself or deal with dissatisfactions.
>
> 2. Conflict provides for the emergence of new norms of appropriate behavior by surfacing shortcomings.
>
> 3. Conflict provides a means of ascertaining the strength of current power structures.
>
> 4. Conflict may work to strengthen boundaries between groups - distinctiveness of groups.
>
> 5. Conflict has the effect of creating bonds between loosely structured groups - unifying dissident and unrelated elements.
>
> 6. Conflict works as a stimulus to reduce stagnation. Conflict may alter society.[2]

Despite the small numbers of change agents who actually use the conflict approach, Robinson suggests that the study of conflict may be of benefit to community development workers since the change that community development entails inevitably involves conflict.

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[1] Ibid., p. 77.

[2] Lewis A. Coser, *The Functions of Social Conflict*, quoted in Jerry W. Robinson, Jr., "The Conflict Approach," in *Community Development in America*, ed. by James A. Christenson and Jerry W. Robinson, Jr., (Ames, Iowa: The Iowa State University Press, 1980), p. 76.

The Self-Help Approach

The underlying assumption of the self-help approach to community development contrasts sharply with that of the technical assistance approach. The self-help approach is based on the assumption that the ability and desire to improve their situation is inherent in individuals and communities.

> The self-help approach is generally defined as a process that assumes people can come together, examine their situations, design strategies to deal with various segments of their surroundings, and implement plans for improvement. The role of the CD [community development] worker and the sponsoring CD organization is to facilitate the process of self-help.[1]

The focus of the self-help approach is on helping people to discover and hone the skills they need to accomplish their goals. Frequently the skills they need include learning how to work together in groups in order to accomplish a task or achieve a goal. It is in the process of development that these skills are learned, since "Only by doing through self-directed decisions can people learn how to improve their community."[2]

The function of the community development worker or change agent is one of an unbiased consultant. Rather than manipulating or guiding the situation, the change agent facilitates the development of the community by helping people to "explore alternatives and reach their own decisions."[3] It is not the sole function of the change agent to help people achieve a certain goal, instead the agent "helps people think through why they want what they want, the short- and long-run effects, and whether the thing they want will produce the intended results."[1]

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[1] Donald W. Littrell, "The Self-Help Approach," in *Community Development in America*, ed. by James A. Christenson and Jerry W. Robinson, Jr., (Ames, Iowa: The Iowa State University Press, 1980), p. 64.

[2] Christenson, "Three Themes of Community Development," p. 43.

[3] *Ibid.*

Donald W. Littrell lists six notions that accompany the self-help approach, which he suggests are neither wrong nor right but which must be considered because "they can both hinder and help those who wish to utilize the self-help approach." He lists and interprets these "companion notions" as follows:

> 1. *Communities or groups of people have a basic autonomy.* The local community is an island and to a great degree can determine its own destiny and can formulate action programs with little regard for the larger society unless materials from outside sources are required.
>
> 2. *The self-help approach is a self-contained process.* For an activity to be considered a self-help process, the people who are affected must be involved in a physical sense in all its phases.
>
> 3. *Communities tend to be stable and homogeneous, with a common value base.* Communities have similar points of view regarding the common good. Geographic proximity tends to be equated with similar values and concerns.
>
> 4. *People know how to participate in the local setting.* If people are not involved, then it must be because they are apathetic or at best unconcerned with the problems or future of their area.
>
> 5. *The local setting is open for those who wish to participate.* Local leadership or power configurations are concerned with betterment of the community.

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[1] Littrell, "The Self-Help Approach," p. 66.

> 6. *When people come together to participate, somehow the decision-making process is easier.* Agreement will be reached with little conflict.[1]

Littrell adds that

> The self-help approach is greatly enhanced when carried out in a setting where all points of view can be expressed. Open discussion may seem to slow the process; but unless diverse points are considered, conflict can impede or prevent effective action.[2]

Littrell says that the basic assumption of self-help is viable; people have the ability to help themselves. But he notes that, in our rapidly changing world, these companion notions are largely untrue. This situation presents new challenges to community development workers who take a self-help approach.

Contributions from the Field of Personal Development

The community development literature does not formally report a personal development approach, yet the concepts from humanistic psychology which contribute to the notion of personal development may complement existing approaches or give rise to another way of approaching the problems of community development.

A review of personal development literature reveals four factors central to personal development that may contribute to a deeper understanding of community development. These are summarized as follows:

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 67.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

1. Well-being is acknowledged to be an inner experience, and each individual's experience of well-being will be both similar to and uniquely different from another individual's.
2. One person cannot know another's experience or what is best for another. Thus the individual must ultimately be responsible for his or her well-being. Individuals cannot depend on another individual or group of individuals to guide their development. They must speak and act for themselves. In so doing they acquire more personal power and independence and they assume more responsibility for directing their own development process.
3. Well-being is not regarded as static. Well-being ebbs and flows. Only as new problems are encountered, worked through and resolved, do new levels of experience of well-being become possible. Well-being may indeed be achieved by fulfilling the inner need for creative movement that guides the individual and community through such processes.
4. Although personal development is directed towards the goal of improving the inner experience of individuals, these improvements, though subtle, should ultimately manifest themselves outwardly both at an individual and community level. The outward indicators of development can then be measured.

The Personal Development Process in Theory

Basic to the concept of personal development is the assumption that individuals have inner natures which they may trust to guide their development. According to Maslow, each person has an inner nature which is "in part unique to the individual and in part species-wide."[1] This inner nature is either neutral or positively good. Maslow describes it as follows:

> This inner nature, as much as we know of it so far, seems not to be intrinsically or primarily or necessarily evil. The basic needs (for life, for safety and security, for belongingness and affection, for respect and self-respect, and for self-actualization), the basic human emotions and the basic human capacities are on their face either neutral, pre-moral or positively "good." Destructiveness, sadism, cruelty, malice, etc., seem so far to be not intrinsic but rather they seem to be violent reactions *against* frustration of our intrinsic needs, emotions and capacities. Anger is *in itself* not evil, nor is fear, laziness, or even ignorance. Of course, these can and do lead to evil behavior, but they needn't. This result is not intrinsically necessary. Human nature is not nearly as bad as it has been thought to be. In fact it can be said that the possibilities of human nature have customarily been sold short.
>
> Since this inner nature is good or neutral rather than bad, it is best to bring it out and to encourage it rather than to suppress it. If it is permitted to guide our life, we grow healthy, fruitful, and happy.[2]

As the awareness of this inner nature, which is ever present although it may be weak or denied, is encouraged, the individual begins to grow and develop in healthy ways. This is basic to the development of a healthier culture because

> ...just as [it is] true that sick individuals make their culture more sick...healthy individuals make their culture more healthy. Improving individual health is one approach to making a better

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[1] Abraham H. Maslow, *Toward a Psychology of Being*, (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1968), p. 3. This notion echoes Palomares' and Ball's Principle of Unity and Diversity.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

> world. To express it in another way, encouragement of personal growth is a real possibility...[1]

The contribution that personal development may make to community development, then, begins with helping individuals to come to know their inner natures, to increase their self-awareness. This is a difficult, sometimes painful process for the individual because

> ...finding out who one is, what he is, what he likes, what he doesn't like, what is good for him and what bad, where he is going and what his mission is - opening oneself up to himself - means the exposure of psychopathology. It means identifying defenses, and after defenses have been identified, it means finding the courage to give them up. This is painful because defenses are erected against something which is unpleasant. But giving up defenses is worthwhile. If the psychoanalytic literature has taught us nothing else, it has taught us that repression is not a good way of solving problems.[2]

Ridding oneself of defenses and becoming more vulnerable is the essence of self-awareness. Carl Rogers believes that for the developing individual this is an ongoing and never ending "process of becoming." He describes individuals who are engaged in such a process in this way:

> each individual appears to be asking a double question: "Who am I?" and "How may I become myself." I have stated that in a favorable psychological climate a process of becoming takes place; that here the individual drops one after another of the defensive masks with which he has faced life; that he experiences fully the hidden aspects of himself; that he discovers in these experiences the stranger who has been living behind these masks, the stranger who is himself. I have tried to give my picture of the characteristic attributes of the person who emerges; a person who is more open to all of the elements of his organic experience; a person who is developing

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[2] Abraham H. Maslow, "Self-Actualization and Beyond" in *Creative Psychotherapy: A Source Book*, ed. by Anthony G. Banet, Jr., (La Jolla, California: University Associates, 1976), p. 144.

> a trust in his own organism as an instrument of sensitive living; a person who accepts the locus of evaluation as residing within himself; a person who is learning to live in his life as a participant in a fluid, ongoing process, in which he is continually discovering new aspects of himself in the flow of his experience. These are some of the elements which seem to me to be involved in becoming a person.[1]

Developed/developing human beings do not have rigid, inflexible self-concepts. They trust their inner experience and their ability to evaluate their experience in order to make decisions that will benefit themselves and others. They are characterized by their lack of defensiveness and an openness to life which allows them to develop continually as their awareness of their experience grows and changes.

Individuals with an internal "locus of evaluation" do not require approval from an outside authority before acting, nor do they have a strong need to conform to a rigid standard of behavior which may not be appropriate to the situation. Because their directions and standards are both internal and tentative, independent individuals may respond more creatively and appropriately to any given situation.

The development of individual creativity, which begins with the inner experience of the individual, is essential to the development of the community and society as Lawrence E. Harrison indicates:

> I believe that the creative capacity of human beings is at the heart of the development process. What makes development happen is our ability to imagine, theorize, conceptualize, experiment, invent, articulate, organize, manage, solve problems, and do a hundred other things with our minds and hands that contribute to the progress of the individual and of

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[1] Carl R. Rogers, "What it Means to Become a Person" in *Creative Psychotherapy: A Source Book*, ed by Anthony G. Banet, Jr., (La Jolla, California: University Associates, 1976), p. 136.

> humankind. Natural resources, climate, geography, history, market size, governmental policies, and many other factors influence the direction and pace of progress. But the engine is human creative capacity...
>
> My own belief is that the society that is most successful at helping its people - *all* its people - realize their creative potential is the society that will progress the fastest.[1]

Belief in and awareness of a positive inner nature, then, is essential to the development of healthy human beings. Such individuals are no longer characterized by fear, defensiveness and rigidity, but rather by openness, trust and flexibility. These characteristics lend themselves to creativity both in problem-solving and in forming positive and productive interpersonal relationships which in turn contribute to the healthy development of community.

How does Personal Development Contribute to Community Development?

People do not exist in isolation. Rather, they exist in relationship with other human beings and with the earth itself. What kind of society or community results when each individual's efforts are directed at personal development? Might the encouragement of the independence of each person result in selfish and self-serving individuals who care nothing for others? Perhaps "individual autonomy [should be] de-emphasized, and each person [be] helped to become conscious of being but one cell in a great organic structure?"[2]

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[1] Harrison, *Underdevelopment is a State of Mind*, p. 2.

[2] Carl R. Rogers, *A Way of Being*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1980), p. 183.

This has not been the experience of Carl Rogers. He has found that

> given a suitable psychological climate, humankind is trustworthy, creative, self-motivated, powerful, and constructive - capable of releasing undreamed-of potentialities.[1]

Furthermore, individuals who are realizing and actualizing their individual power come together in communities in which

> most of the members feel both a keen sense of their own power and a sense of close and respectful union with all of the other members. The ongoing process includes increasingly open interpersonal communication, a growing sense of unity, and a collective harmonious psyche, almost spiritual in nature.[2]

How, then, does focusing on and facilitating the growth and development of one person aid in the development of a community?

From a group development perspective, Warren G. Bennis and Herbert A. Shepard offer their theory that the dysfunctional attitudes, to both authority and intimacy, brought to the group by individual group members present obstacles to group development.

> The core of the theory of group development is that the principal obstacles to the development of valid communication are to be found in the orientations toward authority and intimacy that members bring to the group. Rebelliousness, submissiveness, or withdrawal as the characteristic response to authority figures; destructive competitiveness, emotional exploitiveness, or withdrawal as the characteristic response to peers prevent consensual validation of experience. The behaviors determined by these orientations are directed toward enslavement of the other in the service of the self, enslavement of the self in the service of the other, or disintegration of the

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 201.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 182.

> situation. Hence, they prevent the setting, clarification of, and movement toward group-shared goals.[1]

Bennis and Shepard further suggest that anxiety with respect to authority and/or intimacy may prevent

> the person's internal communication system from functioning appropriately, and improvements in his ability to profit from experience hinge upon overcoming anxiety as a source of distortion. Similarly, group development involves the overcoming of obstacles to valid communication among the members, or the development of methods for achieving and testing consensus.[2]

Thus, it is necessary, to the development of the group, that each member deal with his or her anxiety with respect to authority and/or intimacy. Bennis and Shepard found that those individual group members who were unconflicted with respect to either authority or intimacy tended to be catalysts. They had the power to move the group, mainly because their lack of anxiety with respect to authority or intimacy left them with "the freedom to be creative in searching for a way to reduce tension."[3]

In a suitable psychological climate, individuals have the opportunity to work through their anxiety regarding both authority and dependency, and intimacy and interdependence. According to Bennis and Shepard, the

> components of group life having to do with intimacy and interdependence cannot be dealt with until those components

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[1] Warren G. Bennis and Herbert A. Shepard, "A Theory of Group Development," in *The Planning of Change: Readings in the Applied Behavioral Sciences*, ed. by Warren G. Bennis, Kenneth D. Benne and Robert Chin, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964), p. 323.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 321.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 339.

> having to do with authority and dependence have been resolved.[1]

As dependency is overcome, and interdependence is achieved, individuals take responsibility for fulfilling their personal needs for growth and development. In doing so, they become not only more able to contribute to society, but also more able to understand and support the growth and development of other community members.

> The sense of community does not arise out of collective movement, nor from conforming to some group direction. Quite the contrary. Each individual tends to use the opportunity to become all that he or she *can* become. Separateness and diversity - the uniqueness of being "me" - are experienced. This very characteristic of a marked separateness of consciousness seems to raise the group level to a oneness of consciousness.[2]

The development of *each* individual becomes a contribution to community development, and this type of community development, in turn, fosters further growth of the individual. Palomares and Ball emphasize the necessity of this type of situation in their discussion of the Human Development Program.

> The Human Development Program (HDP) is based on the belief that costly behavioral problems (failure, crime, mental illness, alcoholism, etc.) result from ignorance, irresponsibility and faulty perception of reality. Thus HDP is dually concerned with the growth and health of individuals and society and assumes that full individual development cannot and must not exclude the development of a sense of responsibility toward others. Individuals can only grow to their fullest potential when they contribute in some way to society. When these contributions in turn influence social systems to be more

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 329-330.

[2] Rogers, *A Way of Being*, p. 190.

> responsive to the needs of the people they serve, support is created for additional individual development.[1]

Palomares and Ball note one principle which they feel is basic to individual understanding and growth and, without which, community cannot develop. This is the Principle of Unity and Diversity which they describe as a *visceral* understanding that all people share basic feelings, thoughts, and behaviors, yet express them in uniquely individual ways.[2] This is essential to personal and community development because it leads individuals to become more empathetic, compassionate and trusting of others. The development of these attitudes, however, is not an easy process. Rogers reports that in his community-building workshops

> there are sometimes violent disagreements. There is a tendency to make "speeches" without listening to what has been said. Rivalry and power-seeking are evident, as members attempt to take control of the group, or to "give leadership." Squabbling arguments erupt...
>
> But in the presence of the facilitative attitude created by staff and by many participants, individuals gradually begin to *hear* one another, and then slowly to understand and to respect. The atmosphere becomes a *working* atmosphere, both in the large and the small groups, as people begin to delve into themselves and their relationships.
>
> As this working process goes more deeply, it can bring great personal pain and distress. Nearly always, the pain has to do with insights into self, or with the fright caused by a change in the self-concept, or with distress over changing relationships.[3]

Rogers focuses on encouraging individuals to express themselves, to be independent rather than behaving in accordance with an externally imposed set of values, and to allow others to be independent as well. As this happens, a community which heeds each individual point of view emerges. As each person is valued and his or her feelings are respected, decisions begin to be made which take into consideration every individual point of view.

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[1] Palomares and Ball, *Grounds for Growth*, p. 15.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[3] Rogers, *A Way of Being*, pp. 192-193.

> Slowly, beautifully, painstakingly, a decision is crafted to take care of each person. A solution is reached by a process that considers each individual's contribution - respecting it, weighing it, and incorporating it into the final plan. The sagacity of the group is extraordinary.
>
> This process seems slow, and participants complain about "the time we are wasting." But the larger wisdom of the group recognizes the value of the process, since it is continually knitting together a community in which every soft voice, every subtle feeling has its respected place.[1]

The growth of respect, trust, empathy and compassion, within *each* individual, leads to the development of more positive relationships *between* individuals. This opens up new possibilities for community development. As Harrison states

> A whole set of possibilities opens up when trust is extended...possibilities that are likely to be reflected in both economic and social development.[2]

A Person-Centered Approach to Community Building

Rogers reports building community by helping individuals to experience and express themselves more fully. Rogers' approach to community building is person-centered, and he is concerned to build a community in which individuals feel a genuine sense of community, a deep personal connection with others. He strives to create a climate in which "individuals are empowered, [and] groups are dealt with as being trustworthy and competent to face problems."[1] He finds that in such climates intimate, nurturing relationships grow, and undreamed-of potentials can be released.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 196.

[2] Harrison, *Underdevelopment is a State of Mind*, p. 8.

The results of this process are two-fold. Individuals' self-knowledge is improved, and with it, their power to act on their own behalf. And, as these empowered individuals come together to form intimate and caring relationships, a community develops which supports the flexibility and changes necessary to solve problems.

However, Rogers has done this work with temporary communities in workshop settings. His work involved building communities with virtual strangers who had no shared history and who came together for a short and definite period of time. Because there were few expectations of behavior in this supportive setting, individuals were able to risk articulating, evaluating, and changing their beliefs and behaviors.

In permanent communities, however, individuals are subject to social pressures and sanctions to behave according to expectations. Sharing and openness may be much more difficult in long term relationships in which much is at stake. Changes in the individual's behavior may be neither encouraged nor supported, and may in fact be regarded as negative. Also, temporary communities do not exist in the context of the political, social, economic and cultural systems that influence and define permanent communities. Can changes made by a few individuals have a major influence on the community system? Are the empowerment of individuals and a positive community feeling adequate to help communities overcome the impediments that stand in the way of development? How can focusing on individuals and their development improve the political, cultural, economic and social conditions of a permanent community?

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 200.

Conclusion

Community development encompasses a variety of ideas about the nature of development and underdevelopment. As these ideas vary so do ideas about the goals and process of change as well as the role of the change agent. Underlying these ideas are assumptions about who has the responsibility and the power to change the circumstances of the community.

To review, the socio-economic and technical assistance approaches are based upon the assumption that people in underdeveloped communities are unwilling and unable to take actions leading to development. Proponents of this approach see the goal of development primarily in terms of economic productivity and/or technological advancement. The role of the change agent is to assist communities in making decisions and taking actions which will make productive use of the assistance the change agent is willing to provide. Clearly the provider is seen as having the responsibility for changing the circumstances of the underdeveloped community.

The dependency theory of underdevelopment challenges the notion that, if developed communities or metropoles provide their capital, skills and assistance to the underdeveloped communities, the community will develop. Dependency theorists suggest that this outcome is unlikely, and that only when underdeveloped communities are less influenced by and dependent upon the metropoles will they begin to develop. At first reading, the dependency theory seems to suggest that underdeveloped communities are the victims of overbearing, exploitative metropoles who are responsible for misdirecting the affairs of underdeveloped communities. Implied in this theory, however, is the call for underdeveloped communities to find some way to take responsibility and determine for themselves the directions of their development. What is missing from this theory is a suggestion of how this might be accomplished.

The goal of the conflict approach to community development is to achieve a more equitable distribution of resources. The role of the change agent is to agitate community members to the point where they feel they must take action to change their circumstances. The change agent helps the community to become aware of its power to influence the change process. It would seem that the responsibility for change lies with the community. However, if the power of the community is directed at influencing the prevailing power structure to change the circumstances within the community, as in the conflict utilization strategy, the responsibility for community change may be assumed to lie with the prevailing power structure. Believing that they do not ultimately have power may leave the community members with a sense of frustration that may lead to more conflict.

The self-help approach is based upon the assumption that individuals within a community can come together to solve problems and improve their circumstances. The role of the change agent is to facilitate the process of community members thinking through what they want to do, why they want to do it, and how they want to do it. The goal of the approach is to help the community members become increasingly competent to guide their own development process. The responsibility for change clearly lies within the community.

The focus of this thesis is on the relationship that personal development may have to community development. What contributions might personal development make to the community development process?

Personal development is based on the assumption that power and the drive towards fulfillment are inherent in each individual. Essentially, individuals are challenged to become responsible for their own development by clarifying their needs and taking action to fulfill them. As individuals do so, they acquire a stronger sense of self-determination. They become more able to decide for themselves which resources they will make use of to facilitate their chosen directions for development. They also become better able to direct the ways in which they wish to express themselves. As individuals become more self-focused, they begin to allow others the responsibility of looking after themselves and determining *their* own goals for development as well.

Clearly this type of process may help to address the question the dependency theorists have left unanswered: How does the community become less dependent and more self-determined? Just as individuals focus more on discovering their needs and fulfilling them, communities can do the same. They can look within, discover their needs for development and decide which resources and/or assistance they will make use of in order to develop in the chosen direction. This keeps the power within the community and may reduce the frustration and resentment that is felt when some other external authority, metropole or power structure is believed to be responsible for the development of the community, or has been allowed to impose *its* directions for development on the community. As communities define their needs and chosen directions for development, the need or potential for conflict between community members and the external power structure may be reduced.

How might personal development contribute to a self-help approach? The underlying assumption of the self-help approach is that individuals can come together, identify their needs and work together to solve problems. Personal development aids individuals by helping them define and state their needs more clearly, as well as to hear the needs of others less defensively. This is essential if individuals are to be able to participate productively in group problem solving. In some communities, particularly those in which interpersonal communication is difficult, personal development may be a necessary precursor to effective participation in a self-help process.

This chapter has reviewed the major approaches to community development. Concepts from the area of personal development have also been reviewed and the contributions that these ideas may make to community development have been noted. This is the realm of theory.

But community development necessarily has a practical side. The remainder of this thesis is concerned with an investigation into the relationship between personal development and community development as it evolved in the permanent communities of Alkali Lake and O'Chiese. From this examination, it may be possible to gain practical insight into the ways in which personal development may contribute to community development.

CHAPTER III

METHOD OF THIS INQUIRY

Exploratory Nature of this Inquiry

The intent of this study is to gain understanding and insight about the relationship between personal development and community development in the context of the communities of Alkali Lake and O'Chiese. This is consistent with the purpose of exploratory research which is often to "discover what is most significant or useful about the research setting."[1]

More specifically, this study examines the changing perceptions of individuals in these communities. The research methods which have been used to obtain these data include participant observation and unstructured interviews which are "necessary to discover the subjective meaning of events for people who participate in social interaction."[2] Unstructured interviews are more commonly used in exploratory research and "in those studies where depth of understanding is more important than large-scale coverage."[3] Document study has also been used in order to present a historical context for the processes these communities have undergone.

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[1] John B. Williamson *et al.*, *The Research Craft: An Introduction to Social Research Methods*, (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1982), p. 4.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

[3] Margaret Stacey, *Methods of Social Research*, (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1969), p. 75-76.

Selection of the Research Topic

This topic was selected when the researcher's interest and participation in personal development coincided with an awareness that changes were taking place on the O'Chiese and Alkali Lake Indian Reserves as a result of alcoholism treatment programs. The researcher had worked at O'Chiese, and two other Indian Reserves, as a Child Welfare Worker[1] from 1976 to 1978, and was generally aware of the difficulties experienced by most Indian Bands with respect to the development of their communities. After viewing *The Honor of All*, a video tape which outlined the process by which the people from Alkali Lake moved from 100% alcoholism to 95% sobriety, and learning that a similar process was taking place at O'Chiese, the researcher became curious about the relationship between personal development and community development in these communities.

Research Strategies and Sources of Data

The study of the communities of Alkali Lake and O'Chiese has been divided into two parts. It was first necessary to gain an understanding of the impact the alcoholism treatment programs have had on the communities. This was done by means of overviews which place the personal development/community development processes of these communities in the context of their histories. The second part addresses the objectives of gaining insight into the personal development process, and understanding the relationship between the individual's perception of self and the dynamics of change in the community. This was accomplished by integrating the data collected through participant observation and intensive interviews with community developers and individual community members.

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[1] Employed by Alberta Social Services and Community Health, Rocky Mountain House District Office.

The Overviews

The impact of the alcoholism treatment programs on the communities can be appreciated more fully when viewed in the historical context. As Williamson *et al.* suggest

> "social life is constantly in a state of transformation. If we are to expand our understanding of contemporary social arrangements, we must look to the transformations through which they have already passed." [1]

It is the purpose of each overview, then, to look at the transformations which have occurred in these communities. This is done by describing the history and situations of the community prior to the alcoholism treatment initiatives, the events that brought about the alcoholism treatment programs and the current situation in the communities.

Williamson *et al.* state that "the use of written, historical materials, is required in order to obtain data about sequences of events."[2] Written materials from consultants' reports, newspaper and magazine articles, and statistics available from the Nechi Institute for Alcohol and Drug Abuse have been used to gather historical data about the communities. Band-produced video tapes recording their community processes were also used. These were supplemented by personal interviews, as well as the researcher's prior and current observations of the O'Chiese community.

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[1] Williamson *et al.*, *The Research Craft: An Introduction to Social Research Methods*, p. 240.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

Validity of the Documents

There is a certain amount of selectivity in the recording of historical data. Events may be included or excluded to promote the goals or vested interests of the writer. Certain events may not have come to light or the writer may not have considered them important enough to record. In the case of Indian Bands which have an oral tradition, written historical data are scarce and, when available, have often been recorded at the request of the band by an outsider for some particular purpose other than research.

The exception is the Band-produced video-tapes. While not produced for the purposes of research, these videos have the advantage of having had the input and consensus of the Band members as to the accuracy of the events included. In *The Honor of All*, the Alkali Lake Band members discuss how they "re-lived" earlier events in their lives in order to enact their parts in the video. Despite this input, however, selectivity is still a problem. It is possible that the Bands may have wanted to portray themselves in a certain way. They may have omitted events that were not favorable, which contradicted their message, or which were not significant to them. Even in the case of *A Love Stronger Than Poison*, filmed during the mobile treatment program at O'Chiese, the viewer cannot know what has been edited.

Bailey[1] quotes Holsti as saying

> If the purpose of the research is a purely descriptive one, content [face] validity is normally sufficient. Content validity is usually established through the informed judgement of the investigator. Are the results plausible? Are they consistent with other information about the phenomena being studied?

On the face of it, then, the documents used have validity. They are plausible. But because of the psychological investment community members have in their treatment the problem of selectivity is still a concern. It is possible that individuals may report that certain positive changes have occurred because they feel that this is supposed to be an outcome of the alcoholism treatment program.

Bailey[2] recommends that, where possible, validity checks be done. In the case of O'Chiese, the researcher is fortunate to have spent a good deal of time in the community prior to the alcoholism treatment initiative. Participant observation of the O'Chiese community, including interviews with community members, some of whom were previously known to the researcher, allowed the validity of the documents to be checked first hand. Observation allowed the researcher to verify that the types of changes in relationships and behaviors discussed in the documents were in evidence. While the researcher was unable to visit the community of Alkali Lake, the opportunity to observe and verify the validity of the O'Chiese documents makes the information describing the history, processes and outcome at Alkali Lake seem more plausible.

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[1] Kenneth D. Bailey, *Methods of Social Research*, (New York: The Free Press, 1982), p.327.

[2] *Ibid.*

Historical data, generally, are fraught with problems of selectivity. Since this study is concerned with the subjective meaning of events, however, the selectivity of the data does have one advantage. It highlights those events which the Band members themselves thought to be most significant in their processes.

Interviews and Observation

The objectives of gaining insight into the personal development process and understanding the relationship between the individual's perception of self and the dynamics of change in the community, required different types of data and different data collection methods. Unstructured interviews were the principal method used to collect the data since "this kind of interview is particularly useful where experiences, feelings, reasons and motives are involved."[1] Resource persons familiar with the personal/community development process and members of the O'Chiese community were interviewed during March, 1988. Participant observation at O'Chiese was also used to collect data.

Experience Survey

Community developers who used personal development in the context of community development were interviewed in order to gain insight into the relationship between personal and community development. Names of developers were obtained from individuals who were familiar with community development on Indian Reserves[1]. Following up on suggestions, the following resource people were interviewed: Louise Million, Psychologist; Geneva Ensign, Community Developer; Pat Shirt, Director of Poundmaker's Lodge; and Maggie Hodgson, Director of the Nechi Institute for Alcohol and Drug Abuse. All of these people have worked with numerous Native communities, and all but Geneva Ensign had worked with the O'Chiese community. Pat Shirt and Maggie Hodgson had also worked with the Alkali Lake community.

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[1] Stacey, *Methods of Social Research*, p. 75.

It was decided to use an unstructured interviewing technique so that each developer could focus on what he or she thought were the important elements of this process. Interviews took place in the homes or offices of the developers and ranged in length from one to four hours. The unstructured interview format and the researcher's interest in the topic area helped to create rapport with this group of respondents. With the permission of these resource people, the interviews were taped. The exception was the interview with Maggie Hodgson when the tape recorder did not function and notes were taken during the interview, again with permission.

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[1] The individuals who made suggestions were Richard Price, Director, School of Native Studies, University of Alberta and Robert Barrett, Director, Western Management Consultants, whose practice has primarily been with Indian Bands, Indian Organizations and government departments that work with these groups.

Observation and Intensive Interviews at O'Chiese

Gaining Entry into the O'Chiese Community

During the premiere of the video *A Love Stronger than Poison*, to which the researcher was invited, Chief Theresa Strawberry was approached, informed of the study, and asked for permission to visit the reserve and interview some of the people. Chief Strawberry consented.

Prior to going to O'Chiese in March of 1988, the Band Manager was contacted by telephone to confirm permission to interview some of the band members. The researcher took some time to introduce herself and her research interests to the Band Manager. The Band Manager explained that permission to interview would have to be given by the Community Development Team, and the researcher could come to make an application to interview at the next meeting. The Band Manager also stated that the band members felt they had already made a contribution to one university by allowing a Master's student from the University of Calgary[1] to study them, and did not particularly wish to be studied further.

Somewhat daunted, this researcher attended the next Community Development Team meeting at the O'Chiese Indian Reserve, explained her personal and scholarly interests, and made her application. The team had some concerns. Some team members were unsure about whether they wanted to share some of their experiences, not just with the researcher but with other members of the committee. Another concern was what would happen with this information. The Team was informed that the material would be used for the thesis, and would be added to the university library system. The Team was also informed that there was a possibility that some of the material in the thesis may be published at some time. After some discussion, each member of the team agreed to be interviewed. The researcher was invited to stay for the remainder of the Community Development Team meeting.

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[1] Heather Evans, a sociology student from the University of Calgary, had spent some time at O'Chiese collecting data for her master's thesis on sobriety during the winter of 1987-88.

Observation

An unexpected opportunity for participant observation arose when the researcher was invited to attend the entire Community Development Team meeting. The meeting, which lasted seven hours, covered many topics, including some very sensitive issues. While the researcher was present at the table around which the meeting was held, she did not participate in the meeting, apart from requesting the interviews. She seemed to be largely forgotten by the participants. The researcher was able to jot down brief field notes during the meeting.

Over the lunch break, the interviewer had an opportunity to talk with members of the Community Development Team in order to build the type of relationship in which people would feel comfortable sharing their experiences.

Prior to the meeting, at lunch time, and upon leaving the reserve, the researcher was able to observe some of the changes that had taken place on the reserve over the past ten years. Even during the meeting, the researcher was fortunate to be facing a window which provided an opportunity to observe the activity around the Band Office and Community Development Building, which form the hub of the public area of the reserve.

Interviewing Members of the O'Chiese Community

The Community Development Team was interviewed, as a group, in a comfortable area of the building in which the meeting had been held. Two other band members were asked, by Team members, to join the group and to take part in the interview. In total, nine members of the O'Chiese community were interviewed. The respondents were asked for permission to tape record the interview. Permission was granted.

The interview was unstructured, but centered around a discussion of the current personal/community development process and how individuals experienced the changes. Despite the researcher's fears that individuals may be reluctant to share, the interviewees spoke freely, sometimes crying or laughing as they recalled their own personal experience and gave their thoughts and feelings about the current community development process. Even the individual who had been most reluctant to be interviewed, revealed the subject matter she had been afraid to discuss and explained her fears.

The Respondents

The nine people interviewed were not randomly sampled from the O'Chiese population for several reasons. First, the focus of the study is on gaining insights into the way in which the personal development process evolved into or facilitated the community development process. Only those individuals who have been involved in both processes have the necessary experience. Secondly, one must have permission from the band to conduct research on an Indian reserve. This researcher was given permission to interview those people who were present for the Community Development Team meeting as well as a couple of individuals who dropped in. Since the researcher was aware that the band members generally did not take kindly to being studied, she did not wish to arouse suspicion or mistrust by requesting to interview randomly on the reserve. A third reason for the non-random sample is that many people on the O'Chiese reserve do not speak English fluently, if at all. Lastly, there are few telephones on the O'Chiese Reserve, and it would not have been possible to contact people to arrange interviews.

Eight of the nine people interviewed were members of the Community Development Team. These people represented the Band Council, Band Management, Band Social Services, Band Community Health, and Alcoholism Workers as well as Alberta Social Services. The other individual was a young band member who had been very involved in the personal development process. The respondents ranged in age from approximately 20 years to approximately 45 years. While all the respondents are a part of the O'Chiese community, not all were Band members. All but two respondents were of Indian ancestry. The other two were Caucasian.

Rationale for Unstructured Interviews

The personal development process is unique to each individual. Each person has his or her own story, and each individual has learned something different in the process. In many cases individuals encounter experiences and realizations which could not be anticipated by the researcher. This made the use of a structured interview schedule impossible, and an unstructured interview style was chosen. This interview format provided the flexibility that allowed the researcher to create the rapport that encouraged the open sharing of experiences. It also meant that the respondents could direct the interview to the aspects of the process which they found to be most important. The researcher was then able to probe more deeply into these areas.

Sources of Researcher Bias

Previous knowledge of O'Chiese was considered an asset for the purposes of this study since it facilitated entry into the community and also provided the researcher with first hand knowledge of the community prior to the current community development initiative. However, it was anticipated that the researcher's previous relationship to the community as Child Welfare Worker could cause some respondents to be reticent or unco-operative.

The researcher's involvement in personal development was more of a mixed blessing. It helped the researcher to build rapport and create an atmosphere conducive to openly sharing personal information. Because the researcher was familiar with the type of emotional responses that personal development processes sometimes elicit, she was able to be compassionate yet to continue on with the interviews.

However, the researcher's commitment to personal development may bias the research since the researcher may have unconsciously influenced the course of the interviews by following up on certain types of information and overlooking others, or by unconsciously giving non-verbal cues as to her personal beliefs or expectations. There may also be a tendency to interpret the data in a positive light as a result of this commitment.

Validity of Observation and Unstructured Interviews

Researcher bias is a problem inherent in the data collection methods of participant observation and intensive interviewing. As noted above, this researcher was not without personal bias. To minimize the effects of bias on this study, this researcher did the following.

1) She tried to become aware of the her biases and expectations and set them aside, in order to observe what was actually happening in the present.

2) She noted her subjective responses to the events as they occurred and the behavior or discussion which triggered them.

3) After explaining her purpose, the researcher did not participate further in the Community Development Team meeting, thus she did not influence the group verbally. Although she seemed to be forgotten by the participants, it is not possible to know how her presence and unconscious non-verbal behavior may have influenced the group's behavior.

4) This researcher was also careful not to divulge information about personal beliefs which may have influenced the respondents.

5) Enough general personal information was shared with the respondents, however, in order to create a rapport that would encourage the sharing of very personal experiences.

6) The researcher tried to behave in a non-judgmental and supportive manner so that respondents could feel free to share their personal opinions

and experiences, whether positive or negative, without fear of being judged.[1]

7) An effort was made to allow respondents to direct the interview to their areas of concern. The flexibility of the unstructured interview allowed the researcher to probe more deeply by asking questions which arose from the subject matter brought up by the respondents.

8) In analyzing the O'Chiese data, this researcher was able to compare current behaviors with observations she had made during her previous experience at O'Chiese.. Thus the researcher herself had some historical context in which to interpret these data.

Specifically, however, the data obtained from the unstructured group interview with the members of the O'Chiese community may be subject to question. Were the data significantly affected by the researcher's unconscious biases? Did the researcher lead the interviewees to respond in certain ways? The validity of the interview data can be confirmed in three ways. First, the interview data are consistent with the information provided by the videos, documents and interviews with resource people. Second, the data are consistent with the researcher's own observations of the community both prior to and during the personal/community development process. And third, the different interviewees responded at length to the questions asked. Had the respondents been merely trying to please the researcher, individuals may not have shared such deeply personal experiences, nor would the group, as a whole, have been likely to offer such a range of responses.

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[1] As it turned out, the group of people interviewed at O'Chiese had considerable experience at providing non-judgmental support for each other which helped individuals to share quite deeply during the interview.

The difficulty in making generalizations about social behaviors due to the small samples[1] or the specificity of the situation[2] are also cited as limitations of the research methods of intensive interviewing and observation. In this study, however, the intent is to discover what, if anything, in the relationship between personal development and community development might be useful for other communities in similar situations. Subsequent studies will be needed to test hypotheses which arise from this study to determine the degree to which the insights here may be generalized.

Value of the Variety of Methods

> "All indirect measures have their own peculiar weaknesses. But by concentrating on the point at which a series of independent, indirect, and perhaps weak indicators converge, we can effectively minimize their separate errors and maximize their overall validity."[3]

All of the research techniques used in this study have their own weaknesses. However, a variety of independent methods have been used which help to increase the validity of the study. Document study, experience survey, observation, and intensive group interviews have been used in order to get a comprehensive picture of the relationship between personal and community development in these communities. Consistency among the document study, verbal responses during interviews, and observation of individual and group behaviors increases confidence in the overall validity of the data.

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[1] Williamson *et al.*, *The Research Craft: An Introduction to Social Research Methods*, p. 185.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 207.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 82.

CHAPTER IV

THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES OF ALKALI LAKE AND O'CHIESE IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Introduction

The cases of Alkali Lake Indian Band and O'Chiese Indian Band have been selected for study because they illustrate the phenomenon of a personal development process which eventually transformed the communities. In each case, the process began with a single person's intent to conquer her addiction to alcohol. This commitment evolved into a community development process which continued to focus on personal development and specifically on healing the alcohol addictions of each member of the community.

The changes in behavior have been extreme, and have occurred over a relatively short period of time. The Alkali Lake Band moved from 100% alcoholism to 95% sobriety over a ten year period, while the O'Chiese Band moved from close to 100% alcoholism to having 75% of the Band members treated for alcoholism within two years.

It is important to understand how these changes occurred over time. To this end, this chapter summarizes the historical settings of the communities; their social and economic situations prior to the current community development process; the historic events of the community development process; and the current social and economic situations of the Bands.[1]

Before outlining the backgrounds of these two Indian Bands, however, it is important to note certain qualities which have traditionally characterized Native values and attitudes. Joseph E. Couture outlines these characteristics:

> 1. Native cultures are dynamic, adaptive, and adapting, not limited to the past.
>
> 2. These cultures are authentic and valid, inherently creative, capable of distinctive and sophisticated human development and expression, and therefore they can invent structural forms and institutions as needed to assure and strengthen group/individual survival. They are capable of a social and political rationality of their own, and are as creative in this regard as the dominant culture. It is in this that a basis for legitimate and valid differences between the two general cultures is to be found.
>
> 3. Native life-ways are rooted in a perception of the interconnectedness between all natural things, all forms of life. Within this, the sense of the land is a central determining experience.
>
> 4. There is a characteristic sense of community, of "The People," a collective or communal sense that contrasts sharply with western individualism and institutional forms based on private ownership.
>
> 5. The current Native Situation presents a wide spectrum of variation and diversity of Native behavior and attitude, of history, and of social and political systems, and, as well, a wide continuum of behavior, encompassing the traditional unacculturated Native together with the highly acculturated.

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[1] Due to their sensitive nature, many social and economic statistics were not released, by agencies such as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and Alberta Social Services, at the request of the Bands. The statistics that are available are indicated here. Descriptions of new social and economic initiatives are also included as socio-economic indicators of development.

> 6. Modern Native behavior includes responses to highly specialized relationships with the dominant Canadian society, to a greater extent that any other Canadian group, at different levels (e.g., government, churches, special interest groups such as stores, and oil/mining corporations).
>
> A seventh concept is implicit in the preceding. As a thread running through the value statements above is a concept of being that is primarily concerned with the process of the individual's being and becoming a unique person, responsible for his or her own life and actions in the context of significant group situations. ...The traditional Native being-becoming posture requires trust of self and others, a non-manipulative relatedness, and a sense of oneness with all dimensions of the environment - components that, without exception, are experienced and perceived as possessing a life energy of their own. Native philosophies of life manifest a characteristic person-centeredness, a holistic personalism that regards the human person as a subject in relationships: both the subjects and the relationships exist in a dynamic process of being-becoming.[1]

Not unlike other Indian communities, contact with non-Native culture had devastated the communities of Alkali Lake and O'Chiese, and as these historical sketches will show, separated them from these very positive characteristics which are a part of their traditions.

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[1] Jospeh E. Couture, "What is Fundamental to Native Education? Some Thoughts on the Relationship Between Thinking, Feeling and Learning," *Multi-Cultural Educational Journal*, Vol. 3 (2), 4-16, 1985, pp. 181.

The Alkali Lake Indian Band[1]

Background and Socio-Economic Setting

The people of the Alkali Lake Band were traditionally hunters and trappers. With the advancement of settlers into the area, these Indians were settled on the Alkali Lake Reserve near Williams Lake in British Columbia.

During the early 1900s, the government of Canada, which controlled the activities of Indian Bands according to the mandate given it by the Indian Act, moved Indian children out of their communities to be educated in residential schools away from the reserve. The children were educated in the language and religion of the group that ran the residential school. In the case of Alkali Lake, the language was English and the religion was Roman Catholic. *All* children between the ages of 5 and 15 years were placed in residential schools.

> They were denied the right of speaking their own language and removed from their natural family support systems; primarily the extended family. In any culture the primary foundation of the culture is in the language and modelling of the parents and community. Removing these children from their natural environment was profoundly damaging.[2]

Because the residential schools were not located close to the community, some children did not see their parents for months or even years. On the reserve the traditional ways of finding subsistence were no longer effective. The language, culture, and spiritual traditions were actively discouraged by the representatives of the Canadian government who controlled the reserve. In addition, the children were not in the community. There was no one to whom the Band could pass on what was left of their Shuswap culture and traditions. The community was devastated. It appeared to have no future.

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[1] This section draws heavily from *The Honor of All*, Parts I and II, a video tape produced by Alkali Lake Indian Band, (Alkali Lake, British Columbia: 1985) and Maggie Hodgson's paper "Indian Communities Develop Futuristic Addictions Treatment and Health Approach," (Edmonton, Alberta: Nechi Institute on Alcohol and Drug Education, June, 1987), (Mimeographed.)

[2] Hodgson, "Indian Communities Develop Futuristic Addictions Treatment and Health Approach," p. 3.

When traders moved into the area in the early 1940s, the Shuswap Indians of Alkali Lake were introduced to alcohol. It seemed to anesthetize their despair. A culture based on alcoholism resulted. By the early 1970s, nearly 100% of the Alkali Lake Indian Band was alcoholic.

> There was a high rate of suicide, murder, and vehicle accidents. There was a high rate of child neglect, physical and sexual abuse. There was family violence in every form. There was often a funeral a week. There was almost 100% welfare and unemployment.[1]

Background of the Alkali Lake Community Development Process

In the early 1970s, a little girl told her mother, Phyllis Chelsea, that she didn't want to come home. She wanted to stay with her grandmother because she didn't like the drinking that went on in her parents' home. Phyllis was touched by this. She didn't want her daughter to hate her. She decided she would quit drinking.

Shortly thereafter, Phyllis' husband, Andy Chelsea, was walking past the school when he saw two bruised and dirty children coming late to school. He asked them if they had eaten that morning. They replied that there was no food in the house, only "homebrew." They had not eaten. Andy was so touched and saddened by those two children that he decided that he, too, would quit drinking.

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[1] *Ibid.*

Phyllis and Andy found support in Father Ed, a priest who visited the reserve frequently and encouraged them in their sobriety. They attended a support group for recovering alcoholics.

For a year, however, Phyllis and Andy were the only two sober adults on the reserve. When another woman decided to remain sober at Christmas, the Chelseas decided to support her by bringing Christmas presents for her and her children. A New Year's party, given by Phyllis and Andy for those willing to come sober, was attended only by children who wanted a hot meal. One adult, a woman, arrived late and announced that she too had quit drinking.

Andy and Phyllis did what they could to involve other band members in their commitment to sobriety, but it was not until Andy was elected Chief that the community began to develop a much stronger commitment to sobriety and to develop policies that no longer enabled Band members to continue their alcohol and substance addictions.

Changes in Policies

Where Band Councilors had previously deplored the alcoholism on the Reserve while continuing to abuse alcohol themselves, each Band Councilor was now asked to make a personal commitment to becoming and remaining sober, and to accept treatment for alcoholism. Not only did treatment help the Band Councilors in their personal struggles with alcohol, but treatment made the Band Council aware of the ways in which they and the care givers[1] on the Reserve were enabling alcoholism to continue. The Band Council and the community care givers began to talk openly about the destruction that was going on in families and in the community. Policies were set in place to eliminate the enabling that had been going on. These policies put the onus on individual adults for their own recovery from alcoholism and their own health. Some of these policies included:

1. Adults who were abusing alcohol were placed on a voucher system instead of receiving their social allowance in cash. This eliminated the spending of cash on alcohol.
2. Bootleggers on the reserve were given the choice of being charged or attending treatment.[2]
3. Band employees caught stealing from the Band to support their addictions were given the choice of attending a treatment program or being charged with theft.
4. Children who were left unattended due to the parents' drinking were apprehended and were not returned to the family until their parents received treatment for alcoholism.

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[1] Care givers included child welfare workers, social assistance workers and employment officers.

[2] In one case this involved the Chief's own mother, who had been bootlegging, according to Maggie Hodgson, "Indian Communities Develop Futuristic Addictions Treatment," p. 4.

5. People involved in committing acts of family violence were given the choice of being charged or attending treatment.

These policies were not implemented as a rejection of the individual, however. Instead, each person who sought treatment was supported by the Band. Children who had been apprehended were kept in the community in the homes of relatives until the parents had finished treatment. Cards, signed by the whole community, were sent to people away at treatment to show their love and support. Homes were cleaned and repaired while people were in treatment so that they had a nice place to return to.

Development of Social and Economic Opportunities

As the sober population increased, more and more people began to share a vision of the potential of the community. Two women began their own store which became very successful. A community-run logging company was formed to offer band members either paid or volunteer employment. The Band began a community controlled school and developed a cultural centre within the community. They requested help from Elders in the larger Indian community to help them regain their connection with Indian spirituality and culture.

As alcoholism became less prevalent, it became evident that many people in the community had suffered physical and sexual abuse. The community sought outside resource people to help them understand this problem and to start their healing process. All members of the community participated not just in alcoholism treatment, but in communications and counselling training because the community views these as absolutely essential to building self-esteem and developing more effective and enjoyable interpersonal relationships. As a result of this interest, the community established its own Human Relations Training Institute to assist its own members and to provide assistance to outside communities.[1]

The Current Situation at Alkali Lake

As of 1985, 95% of the members of the Alkali Lake Indian Band were sober. Community health, in a holistic sense, remains the number one priority. The community continues to support the well-being of each of its members, by making it possible for each person to attend necessary personal development training, gain spiritual and cultural awareness, or to develop economic opportunities for her or himself.

Through the production of the video tape, *The Honor of All*, this community has also reached out to other communities to share their experience. They have influenced the development of several other Indian communities including O'Chiese. Members of the Alkali Lake Indian Band are in demand to talk to communities across Canada and the United States, to share their experience and help other communities begin their own healing and development processes.

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[1] Maggie Hodgson, "Indian Communities Develop Futuristic Addictions Treatment," p. 6.

The O'Chiese Indian Band[1]

Background

The O'Chiese Band is a tribal community that has undergone severe trauma. A traditional nomadic society of hunters and gatherers, the O'Chiese Band came under treaty only in 1950 and was settled on a reserve approximately 70 km west of Rocky Mountain House. The Band is the only Saulteaux community in Alberta.

Permanent settlement on the reserve was soon followed by the devastating breakdown and eventual destruction of most of the traditional cultural identity. The once proud and independent men and women could no longer provide for their families in familiar ways. The work that they had done in their traditional way of life no longer made sense in this new situation, and it was discouraged by the government officials who controlled the reserve. About the same time, the O'Chiese people came into closer contact with the white culture, and specifically, alcohol. The effect was devastating. Alcoholism resulted.

Social Setting

Within the cultural tradition of the O'Chiese Band, the extended family is everything for the individual and therein lies a serious problem for the

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[1] The information for this section is taken from a number of sources. These are: Robert Barrett, "Proposed Alcoholism Treatment Program at O'Chiese," (O'Chiese Indian Band, February, 1987), (Mimeographed.), Maggie Hodgson, "Indian Communities Develop Futuristic Addictions Treatment and Health Approach," as well as the researcher's previous and current observations of the O'Chiese community.

O'Chiese band member. Endemic alcoholism led to incredibly chaotic and frequently violent family lives. Child neglect and abuse were common. In many families the children virtually raised themselves, as the adults were either away drinking, or intoxicated, for the vast majority of the time. People grew up trusting no one including their brothers, sisters, fathers and mothers. In a group interview, members of the O'Chiese community commented that prior to the current community development process there was "no trust anywhere." One person volunteered that "if you could have distilled it all, there wasn't one ounce of trust on the reserve." [1] No one disagreed.

Yet the primary social structure to which the individual Band member owes allegiance is the family. This creates a great deal of conflict within the individual. Vandalism was frequent among the youth and violent assaults upon other family members, including murder, was frequent among the older people. One O'Chiese Band member related that, after treatment, "despite the fact that my kids were with my mom [on the reserve], I just didn't want to come back. That's how bad the atmosphere was around here."[2]

In any community experiencing such social breakdown, social problems abound. This was true for O'Chiese. Rampant alcoholism accounted for most of the problems which included truancy, juvenile delinquency, vandalism, substance abuse, teen age pregnancies, poor interpersonal relationships, child neglect and abuse, sexual abuse, elder abuse, high infant morbidity and mortality rates, poor health, a high rate of violent crimes including physical assaults and murder, a high suicide rate and a much lower life expectancy than that of the dominant white culture.

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[1] For some appreciation of the context of these quotes see Appendix A. p. 141.

[2] This quote is presented in the context of the O'Chiese group interview in Appendix A, p. 152.

In 1986, the rate of alcoholism on the reserve was well over 90%. Thirty-five out of the 53 families were receiving social assistance and only a few Band administration and program employees had sustained employment.[1] "From 1973 to 1984, 71% of the 52 deaths in the community were caused by accidents, violence, disease, or suicide related to alcoholism. The average age of mortality for Band members was under 25."[2]

The lack of trust between Band members and even between family members, carried over to relationships with other communities as well. Off reserve relations with the dominant white society were tenuous. Apart from non-Indian merchants in the area, contacts often included hospital staff, Social Services staff, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Since the focus of many of these contacts had to do with illness, violence, and alcoholism, these were not necessarily pleasant experiences for O'Chiese Band members and did nothing to build trust between the two societies.

Background of the O'Chiese Community Development Process

With the appointment, in December 1985, of Phyllis Strawberry to the position of Director of the O'Chiese Alcohol and Drug Abuse Program, some individuals began to learn more about alcohol and drug abuse. Moved by the Alkali Lake video tape, *The Honor of All*, Chief Theresa Strawberry made a commitment to her Band Council in February of 1986 that she would attend an alcoholism treatment program and that an organized and systematic attempt to sober up the O'Chiese community would be the first priority of her administration. Two other Band Councilors said they would also be prepared to undergo treatment after the Chief returned. Upon making this commitment, public meetings and education programs were held on the Reserve.

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[1] Heather Evans, "O'Chiese Information Package: Guidelines for Community Sobriety," (O'Chiese Indian Reserve: O'Chiese Indian Band, Dec. 16, 1987), p.5. (Mimeographed.)

[2] *Ibid.*

By April, 1987, upwards of twenty people had successfully completed the alcoholism treatment program at Poundmaker's Lodge in Edmonton. Support services such as Alcoholics Anonymous and Al-A-Teen were started on the Reserve.

Social and Economic Development Initiatives

With the alcoholism initiative well under way, the Band Council began to take community development initiatives that would have been impossible had the Band not begun to deal with the alcoholism problem. Sober recreation programs for all ages were established at the local gymnasium. The Band Council sought help from the Rocky Mountain House Detachment of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to support the Band's alcohol and substance abuse program. The Band established an employment office, and began to insist upon punctuality, the development of good work habits, and productivity on the part of its employees. Workers whose performance was sub-standard were offered the option of entering an alcoholism treatment program or dismissal.

In January, 1987, the program began to extend beyond the limits of the O'Chiese Reserve. The Chief and the core group of concerned and sober individuals initiated regular case conferences with social agencies in Red Deer, to ensure that the growing network of community support included four single-parent families from the Reserve who were living in the Red Deer area.

In July of 1987, the Band held a mobile treatment program for alcoholism on the Reserve, the first to be held on an Alberta Indian Reserve. Counsellors and other professionals from Nechi and Poundmaker's Lodge provided the professional services to the participants, and provided support to care givers within the community. The whole community organized itself to support the treatment program. Band members not attending the treatment program prepared food, organized and attended sober recreation programs, and cared for the children of program participants.

The Current Situation at O'Chiese

By December of 1987, 75% of the approximately 400 Band members had attended treatment for alcoholism.[1] Although it is still too early to determine what lasting effects this treatment will have on the community, sobriety has become the norm. This alone should lead to fewer incidents of vandalism, child abuse or neglect, hospitalizations, violence, suicide and murder, while life expectancy should rise. Since this process has been going on for a relatively short period of time, however, statistics which may confirm this trend are not yet available.

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[1] *Ibid.*

Today, the O'Chiese Indian Band has a sober Band Council. Each Band Councilor has undergone treatment for alcoholism. The Band has a Community Development Team which includes several Band members as well as representatives from agencies based outside the Reserve. All members of this team are sober, and Band members are encouraged to attend personal development and human resource training sessions. The Band runs Alcoholics Anonymous, Al-A-Teen, and Aftercare programs for its members. Community sobriety and health remain the number one priority for this Indian Band.

Band Administration policies no longer enable employees of the band to sustain their substance addictions. Employees are required to be sober or to attend an alcoholism treatment program prior to being employed by the band. Employees who relapse from sobriety are given the choice of getting more treatment or otherwise dealing with their relapse while being suspended from their jobs, or being dismissed.

The Community Development Team continues to meet regularly, discussing needs and concerns that have come to them from the community. This team concerns itself directly with the well-being of each of its members,[1] as well as the individual members of the community. It organizes sober recreational programs on the reserve, including camp outs, round dances, and athletics.

The Community Development Team was also responsible for organizing new workshops such as the Parenting Course which came about after two women began to share their concern about raising their children. Other women volunteered that they were also concerned. Resource people from outside the community were brought in for the workshop. Likewise, Community Development Team members are hearing concerns from other community members about sexual abuse. Information sessions and a sexual abuse therapy program are currently being organized, again with the help of outside resources.

Not only have community members begun to trust one another; the community is trusting other communities as well. It has a particularly close relationship both with the Nechi Institute on Alcohol and Drug Education and Poundmaker's Lodge, which have provided many of the treatment and training programs. It is reaching out to members of the nearby Rocky Mountain House community to help run a social dance program on the reserve. The Band maintains a positive relationship with Alberta Social Services, which oversees the child welfare program, and other social agencies in the Rocky Mountain House area.

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[1] For instance, each meeting begins with a "where are we?" session in which team members share their feelings about what is going on in their lives at present, or their plans for themselves. People may share their feelings about a recent separation from a spouse, or their concerns about their children, or just the way they feel on that particular day and the hopes they have for themselves. Every participant at the meeting is expected to share.

The O'Chiese Band not only seeks support from other communities; it is also very involved in helping other communities begin their development processes. People from O'Chiese have been invited to speak and make presentations to Indian and non-Indian communities which are interested in this type of community development.[1]

The Band has used its elders as resources to revive their spiritual and cultural traditions. They are finding that there is much in their traditions that supports the current community development initiatives. They are learning to take what is appropriate from both their Saulteaux tradition and from non-Native culture in order to develop themselves both individually, and as a community.

The members of the O'Chiese Band now trust and support one another. They have faith in what their community can accomplish; they have a sense of purpose in their work and in the development of their community. One community member commented that "today I feel that it's one big family. You know you can't come into the office feeling really bad. You can't get away with that because someone is going to corner you anyway. And they want to take the time to sit with you because they care. Everybody understands."[2]

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[1] The day I was at O'Chiese several invitations to speak in various Indian communities were received by telephone.

[2] This quote appears in the context of the group interview in Appendix A. p. 148.

CHAPTER V

PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

The communities of Alkali Lake and O'Chiese were highly dysfunctional communities. Interpersonal relationships were not satisfying and social problems abounded. In each case community development evolved out of a process that began by focusing on the inner needs and experience of the individuals within the community. As the individuals became more healthy[1], a stronger sense of community began to develop. Effective social policies and programs, and economic development have been outgrowths of this process.

While community development arose out of personal development initiatives in these communities, the process was a continuous one which ebbed and flowed. The purposes of this chapter are to describe the elements of the personal development process which contributed to the development of these communities, and to investigate the contribution the individual's changing perception of self made to the community development process. This has been done by integrating and analyzing data collected from literature, resource people, and members of the O'Chiese and Alkali Lake communities.

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[1] Throughout this chapter, the word health is used in its holistic sense. This includes the sound development of the physical, emotional, mental and spiritual aspects of human beings, both individually and collectively.

The Contribution of Personal Development to Community Development

The notion of personal development is based on the assumption that man has a positive inner nature that constantly presses toward expression. Repression of this inner nature stifles development. Individuals who become involved in a personal development process acquire an awareness of this inner nature. They learn to recognize their inner needs and to develop the skills that are necessary to fulfill them.

The process by which personal development evolves into community development appears to happen in this way: As individuals learn to recognize and take responsibility for meeting their own needs, they come to be less demanding of others. They also come to recognize and respect the developmental process in others. As people become less demanding and more respectful, their interpersonal relationships tend to improve. The changes made by one person, then, come to affect his or her relationships with family and friends, allowing these others to focus more actively on their own personal development needs. As these new individuals become committed to their own development, their relationships may start to change as well. In this way the process begins to include ever-increasing aspects of community life, as illustrated in Figure 1.

Three phases have been identified in the evolution of personal development into community development. The initial phase is one of developing self-awareness in the individual. People within a community can best contribute to the health of the community by becoming aware of their personal needs and taking action to maintain and promote their own health

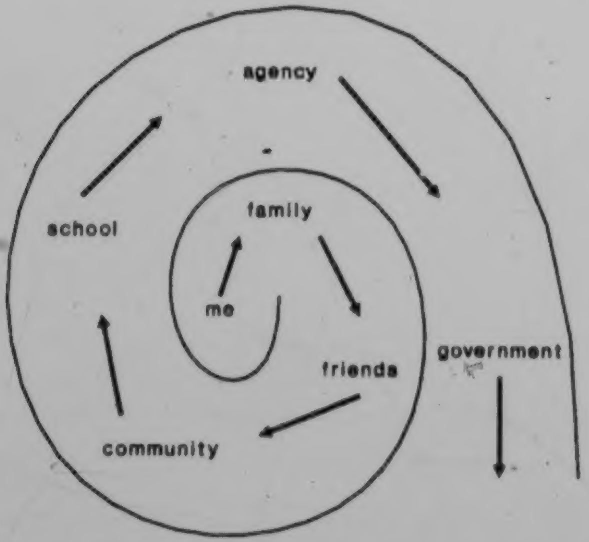

FIGURE 1. **REPRESENTATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF SELF-AWARENESS TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT**[1]

and development. Self-awareness helps individuals to become conscious of what they require to do this.

Once individuals are aware of their need for development and their personal power to fulfill their needs, they can enter into more satisfying and productive interpersonal relationships. Because they are less dependent or restrictive, these relationships allow for the creative growth and development of both individuals within the relationship. The development of these interpersonal relationships is the second phase of the evolution of personal development into community development.

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[1] Maggie Hodgson, Executive Director, Nechi Institute, personal interview, March 14, 1988. (No copyright involved.)

In the third phase, the community may formalize policies and programs which continue to implement and foster the development of the community as a whole. Organizational structures which maintain flexibility and openness to new directions for development, while retaining the commitment of individuals to their own and their community's development, facilitate the ongoing development of the community.

Phase 1: Self-Awareness

The personal development process starts to make a contribution to community development when individuals become aware of, and take responsibility for, actualizing the potentials that lie within themselves. This involves changing negative attitudes individuals may have about themselves. As they feel better about themselves, individuals begin to change their attitudes and behaviors towards others as well.

Pat Shirt, Executive Director of Poundmaker's Lodge[1] explains that

> In a lot of ways what we do in the treatment program here is help the person to change the view of himself and then he changes the view of his family and that changes the view of the community and how he views the world. The bigger circle starts with the personal. As he starts feeling better about himself...he starts feeling better about the other people around him.[2]

This process must take place in an environment in which individuals feel safe to experiment with new behaviors and ways of thinking. Because dysfunctional families and communities are seldom accepting of new behaviors in an individual, this initial step in the self-awareness process usually takes place in a "favorable psychological climate"[1] outside the community.[2]

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[1] Poundmaker's Lodge is a residential alcoholism and drug abuse treatment centre.

[2] Pat Shirt, Executive Director, Poundmaker's Lodge, personal interview, March 4, 1988.

Actualizing the potential of one's inner nature is a multi-faceted inner process which involves becoming aware of feelings and inner needs, and translating that awareness into actions which effectively fulfill those needs. Some of the major elements of this process are discussed below.

Feelings

Because feelings give individuals information about their inner nature, including both their inner needs and the potentials that they can develop[3], personal development begins as individuals become more aware and accepting of their feelings. Since many people are not used to expressing their feelings, this is often done in a supportive group environment, which encourages and facilitates the expression of any feeling. This is a necessary starting point because in dysfunctional families there are often three firm rules. Whether these rules are made explicit or not, they are: Don't talk, don't trust, and don't feel.[1] For children, appropriate behavior in their families, and later in society, is crucial to survival. If they are not allowed to express their feelings or to talk about the discrepancies between their feelings and how they are supposed to behave, they decide that they are somehow wrong or different from others. They feel that they are basically unacceptable. They learn not to trust their inner self but to guess about the right response in social situations, and to try to please others by behaving in what they hope is the correct way. This is not conducive to open communication; but because they know no other way, they think that this is normal.

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[1] Carl R. Rogers, "What it Means to Become a Person" in *Creative Psychotherapy: A Source Book*, edited by Anthony G. Banet, Jr. (La Jolla, California: University Associates), 1976, p. 136.

[2] The people of O'Chiese found this favorable psychological climate at Poundmaker's Lodge, while the people of Alkali Lake used a variety of alcoholism treatment centers. Eventually, however, both Bands were able to create a favorable psychological climate on their reserves.

[3] For a more complete discussion of feelings, especially with reference to people who come from dysfunctional families, see Charles L. Whitfield's book, *Healing the Child Within*, (Pompano Beach, Florida: Health Communications, Inc., 1987), Chapter 10.

One O'Chiese Band member acknowledged that these rules were in effect in her home. She explained how these rules affected her.

> ...I'm just realizing...that I have come from a home of alcoholics. There are these rules that develop along the stages for each individual in the family. For me there were rules such as "you don't talk, you don't trust and you don't feel." I've been working on these rules for so many years. I thought that when I became a parent that wouldn't happen. But it did happen. For me to have an understanding of how to get away from that has been a real struggle. As a matter of fact at our last training I wrote a sort of poem or letter to my mother which went like this. "Mother, if you loved me why did you teach me not to talk? Mother, if you loved me why did you teach me not to trust other people?" Even though I know the difference now, I still love her because I know that it was just a part of her sickness. We didn't know how to communicate with each other within the family. Now we've found better ways. I think for me, [I've been] running around with a lot of resentments in me. Even though I loved my mother, I still resented her because of the things I had gone through in my

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[1] A discussion of these and other rules common to dysfunctional families can be found in Robert Subby's book *Lost in the Shuffle*, (Pompano Beach, Florida: Health Communications, Inc.), Chapters 4 and 5.

> past, [when I didn't] understand that she was sick at the time. I thought all that was normal.[1]

If the "don't talk" rule is in effect in a home, children learn very quickly not to share their innermost feelings. They learn that they cannot trust others to affirm that their feelings are valid. It becomes confusing and difficult to be aware of feelings which appear to be wrong. They learn to keep their feelings from their conscious awareness so that they are not always confronted with the painful incongruence between their feelings and their actions. They create emotional and psychological defenses in order to protect themselves, and remain superficially accepted by others. They come to depend upon the external environment to tell them the "right" way to behave. They may even come to depend on the external environment to tell them how they ought to feel. In this process they move from having an internal point of reference to depending only on an external reference system.[2]

For this, however, they pay a high price. They seldom feel a sense of being deeply connected, understood and loved by others. Instead they feel superficially attached to, but deeply mistrustful of and separate from their community.

An O'Chiese Band member reports the fear and mistrust she felt when she attended the on-reserve mobile treatment program.

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[1] Appendix A. p. 141.

[2] For further elaboration and illustration of external referencing see Schaef, Anne Wilson, *Co-Dependence*. (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1986), p. 48-49.

> I was one of the clients at the mobile treatment, and it was scary...[I thought] I'm not going to allow anyone to come close to me or even to know me very well...But when I went in for that mobile treatment it didn't take long before I started getting really emotional and I started sharing, and getting close to people. I was scared that they would walk away from me. I was scared of losing...I was also scared that people that cared would be there for a while and then walk away and I wouldn't know where to go. I still have those feelings at times. There was a lot of caring. It was overwhelming for me.[1]

But feelings well up out of the innermost self. Feelings are neither right nor wrong. They are simply feelings. Because they are the connection between the inner nature and conscious awareness, feelings can tell us much about what is needed for the personal growth and development of the potentials that lie within the individual.[2]

For the person who has grown up in an environment in which the free sharing of feelings has not been the rule, though, it takes great courage to become aware of the confusing plethora of feelings within. It takes even greater courage to begin to share these honestly with other people.

Community developers who work from a personal development perspective strive to create an environment in which it is safe to share feelings.[3] As individuals reveal their feelings, they often find that others not only accept them but also share similar feelings. At this point in the process, the individual starts to understand the Principle of Unity and Diversity.

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[1] This quote is presented in the context of the group interview in Appendix A. p. 151.

[2] Harriet Goldhor Lerner specifically discusses the messages that anger can give us regarding our needs in her book *The Dance of Anger*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1985).

[3] Geneva Ensign, Community Developer, personal interview, March 2, 1988.

One O'Chiese Band member indicated the sense of validation and liberation she felt at the mobile treatment program when she found others accepted and agreed with her.

> For once people were starting to say things that I had thought all my life, growing up in an alcoholic home. All of a sudden it was "you know it's not right to feel this way, or it's not right to push your kids aside, or you gotta be responsible for who you are, or love has to come from within." So for me it was like "holy smokes these people are thinking the same way I thought all my life, so I'm not so weird."[1]

When people find that it is all right to express their feelings, that they won't be laughed at or criticized, or made to feel somehow less worthy of the respect of others, they begin to feel that it is acceptable to express themselves more freely. If their feelings are acceptable, then they, as whole human beings, are acceptable. This leads to a rise in self-respect and self-esteem. Energy is no longer being expended in suppressing feelings, or trying to keep them from the conscious awareness of themselves or others. Individuals who become aware of their inner nature, find that it can indeed guide their life successfully. More open communication becomes possible.

Personal Responsibility

Personal responsibility develops as individuals begin to focus more on themselves, using their awareness of feelings to discover their needs for growth and development, and thinking about how they will use their available resources to fulfill these needs. As individuals realize personal responsibility for their well-being, they move their focus from trying to change others to making changes in themselves. They no longer depend on changes in others to fulfill their needs. Individuals begin to realize that they can make choices which allow them to respond more creatively and successfully to the demands of their inner and outer environments.

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[1] This quote appears in the context of the group interview in Appendix A. p. 145.

Learning that one must first make the changes in oneself was an important lesson to the people of O'Chiese. One person explained that

> I thought I was going to go in [to treatment] to help the Band. As it turned out, after a week in there, I found out that I was only there for myself. That I had a problem, and that in order for me to help others I had to help myself... admitting that I did have a problem with alcohol. That I was an alcoholic. I knew that I had to continue working on myself even after the 28 days treatment. I was going to be an alcoholic all my life so I had to continue on how I was going to arrest the disease itself and continue living without using it [alcohol].[1]

Understanding personal responsibility helps individuals to know what is their responsibility and what is not; whose feelings they are responsible for and whose they are not. If they have grown up thinking that they need to guess what others want from them in order to be accepted, they have also learned that if they respond correctly others will accept them. In return, however, they may tend to expect that others will guess at and fulfill their needs in order to remain accepted. In such a situation

> everyone learns to mind everyone else's business one way or another. What results is a group of family members who are

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[1] This quote is presented in the context of the group interview in Appendix A. p. 144.

> *enmeshed*, fused or who have invaded or even overtaken one another's boundaries.[1]

If the expectation that others will meet their needs is not met, individuals may become angry and upset. This type of anger covers up feelings of hurt and abandonment and deflects the responsibility for the problem from themselves.

For the people of O'Chiese, anger was a way of covering up their pain and blaming others. One person related that

> ...there was lots of pain, but a lot of it was covered up with parties and wine and anger. Anger was one of the main things. Everybody was mad at everybody all the time - mad at each other, mad at me, mad at Indian Affairs, mad at the police. It doesn't eliminate the pain but it deflects it, covers it all up. It hides the real problem.[2]

When there is confusion as to personal responsibility, an individual may think that *others* should take action because he or she is not happy. The focus is on convincing others to change - a difficult, if not hopeless, task. Once the focus shifts to the self and individuals take personal responsibility, they have more control over the change process.

Charlene Belleau, Band Councilor and former chief of Alkali Lake Band, illustrates how important it is to know what is one's own responsibility and what is not.

> Most places I travel to, our leaders still blame high unemployment, poor housing, low education as the reason why their people are drunk. At Alkali Lake we accepted

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[1] Charles L. Whitfield, *Healing the Child Within*. Pompano Beach, (Florida: Health Communications, Inc., 1987), p. 48.

[2] This quote is presented in the context of the group interview in Appendix A. p. 141.

> responsibility for all of those social problems and have turned those around.[1]

Power

The change of focus from others to self, and the realization of personal responsibility, is important because it leads to an understanding of personal power. Individuals realize that they must take action in order to fulfill their needs and desires, and that it is their own behaviors that they need to change. Since it is possible to change oneself, individuals acquire a sense of personal power and control over their lives. They learn that they can break the dysfunctional rules they have learned and that they can use their inner nature as a guide for their actions.

At O'Chiese, the Al-A-Teen group works at becoming consciously aware of the unstated rules of a dysfunctional family and at thinking out the actions each individual can take to change the situation. The Al-A-Teen group leader illustrates:

> [We talked about] those three rules. Don't talk. Don't feel. Don't trust. And I just - it was so emotional for me. Here they were just brainstorming and writing down how they were going to break these rules. And they're so young. I never knew that as a kid, and they have so much hope. I guess I am doing that for them because I never had it. It's just so neat seeing them working together on how they're going to break the don't trust rule. They're going to talk. "If I'm feeling hurt I'm going to tell it to my mom."[2]

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[1] "Natives should blame themselves for alcoholism, former chief says." *The Edmonton Journal*, March 23, 1988, page D1.

[2] This quote is presented in the context of the group interview in Appendix A. p. 142.

Vulnerability

Vulnerability means "capable of being wounded."[1] It means choosing to let go of psychological defenses to reveal that one is imperfect and needs the support and understanding of others. It also means risking pain or grief if the request for support and understanding is not met. Vulnerability is essential to the development of relationships and of community because

> ... what happens when we behave invulnerably, when we gird ourselves with psychological defenses and pretend that we are cool cats who have got it all together, rugged individualists who seem to be in complete control of our lives? What happens is that other people gird themselves with their psychological defenses and pretend that they too are cool cats who have got it all together, and our human personal relationships become nothing more than that of two empty tanks bumping against each other in the night.[2]

The decision to be vulnerable requires great courage. Anyone who has taken such a risk cannot help but appreciate and be touched by both the courage and the fragility of any other individual who is taking a similar risk.

> ...all men and women in genuine community sooner or later confess their brokenness. We are all wounded. None of us really has it all together. None of us can really go it alone. We are all in need, in crisis, although most of us still seek to hide the reality of our brokenness from ourselves and one another.[3]

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[1] *The New Webster Encyclopedic Dictionary of the English Language*, 1984 ed., s.v. "vulnerability".

[2] M. Scott Peck, *The Different Drum: Community Making and Peace*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), p. 228.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

Understanding that we are all in need, all broken, is the basis for compassion and empathy out of which grow the bonds of trust, caring and support which bind individuals into a community.

As the people of O'Chiese discovered how vulnerable they were, they also began to feel empathy and compassion for other members of their community. The following excerpt from the group interview illustrates:

> A. I haven't shared this with very many people. When we did the evaluation, after the treatment program, in September, I was really hiding then. I wasn't talking to anybody. I wasn't sharing anything and I was really negative...I was mad. I was hurting and I was angry at a lot of people...'cause it felt so good in July, for once having a family, and people that cared about you, and people that were honest with you. If you screwed up, they told you you screwed up but they still loved you anyway...I could understand people like R., one of the worst drinkers on the Reserve. She goes into this treatment program for a month, and she learns all about love and she gets hugs every day. People care for her, and listen to her and then all of a sudden it's taken away and you don't have inside you enough of that to keep going. The same thing happened to me. I understand why these people relapsed 'cause they've never had that all their life. They've just been thrown garbage and told they're no good. Then all of a sudden for one month everybody was telling you what a wonderful person you were...Part of my anger [was] that they made me feel and become a real person and all of a sudden they were gone. I didn't know how to hold on to that.
>
> E. Sounds like one of the things that happened to you...was that you recognized you had a need for love. You want to be loved. You want to be accepted. You want to be cared for. And that it's O.K. to expect that. And that if it's not there then it hurts. And if you're not even aware of those things then you're not admitting it to yourself, I guess, let alone other people.[1]

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[1] This quote is presented in the context of the group interview in Appendix A. pp. 147-148.

The Beginning of Relationship

With self-awareness and the realization of personal responsibility and power, comes the awareness that individuals are solely responsible for the fulfillment of their needs and the actualization of their potentials. As one O'Chiese community member said, "It's all a matter of looking after yourself. If you can look after yourself, you're strong enough to leave yourself alone to look after someone else."[1]

But individuals cannot actualize themselves in a vacuum. They need the support and co-operation of other people. To that extent they must have the courage to be vulnerable. They must reveal that they are not self-sufficient and ask others for what they cannot provide for themselves, realizing that they may feel pain or grief if support is not given.

As they become aware of this process in themselves, they become aware of it in others as well. They begin to have an appreciation of the fragility and courage of other human beings. They become genuinely able to relate to others as human beings who are also struggling to fulfill themselves. This is the beginning of relationship. This is the beginning of a supportive, more functional community.

One member of the O'Chiese community describes the first time she felt that a new awareness in herself helped her to deepen her relationship with another member of the developing community.

> ...I was talking to N. in my office in town one day. Right after she went to treatment, I think. For some reason she and I had probably the deepest discussion [we've] ever had...and I've

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[1] This quote is presented in the context of the group interview in Appendix A. p. 145.

> talked to her lots of times. And it had something to do with me, it wasn't her. That was right when I was seeing somebody [a counsellor] after my husband and I separated and I think it was 'cause of me. It was something in me that [allowed me to] let her go to a deeper emotion. I didn't control something to keep it in sort of a safe section. She was able to express more feelings because of something in me. That was the first time it happened. I've had more experience in the past year with that kind of stuff. I don't know really how to explain it.[1]

Robert Johnson, in his book *We: Understanding the Psychology of Romantic Love*, eloquently describes this same process in his discussion of the movement away from a romanticized relationship to a genuine relationship between man and woman. This description applies equally to one's relationship with any other human being, and to this end the word 'woman' has been changed to 'others' in the following excerpt.

> He discovers that there are parts of himself, potentialities and forces that he can't live out through [others]. He discovers that he can't make [others] the carrier of all his unlived life and his unrealized self. He finds that there are things that he must do by himself and for himself: He must have an inner life; he must serve values that have meaning for him; he must have interests and enthusiasms that well out of his own soul...
>
> To do this does not hurt his relationship[s]: On the contrary, it makes relationship possible. As he relieves [others] of the burden of carrying his soul for him, it becomes possible for the first time to see [others] as people, to relate to [them] in [their] individuality, [their] specialness, [their] humanity...
>
> An awesome potential is at stake in this evolution. It is the potential for being fully individual while also relating genuinely to a fellow human being...in becoming aware that there is a part of himself that can't be lived through another person, for which he must take responsibility on his own, he awakens to the unexpected extensity and complexity of his individual self. In turn, as he awakens to his own uniqueness, he becomes capable of relating to [others] in their own uniqueness. The test of true individuation is that it include the

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[1] This quote is presented in the context of the group interview in Appendix A. p. 150.

> capacity to relate to another person and to respect him or her as an individual.[1]

Phase 2: Interpersonal Relationships - The Nucleus of Community

Out of self-awareness arises the potential for genuine human relationships. Individuals have learned to be more aware of their inner needs. As they become aware of their responsibility and power to actualize their potentials, their thinking and behavior change. They become less dependent upon others to meet their needs and they become less likely to try to control the behavior of others. Individuals are able to appreciate that they must act out of their own inner needs and values. This change in attitude and behavior leaves room in relationships for each person to explore new alternative ways of being which they feel will help them lead more successful and more fulfilled lives.

People have learned to appreciate being respected, supported and trusted because this is what they have experienced in the safe, supportive treatment environment. Through the role modeling of therapists, facilitators, trainers, and other group members, individuals have developed new attitudes and learned new behaviors which promote and encourage trust, caring and the sharing of deep feelings. The result of these new attitudes and behaviors is transforming! One person from O'Chiese described this type of change in this way: "With all the love and caring and sharing [at the mobile treatment program], I was the person that I had always wanted to be for the whole month."[1]

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[1] Robert A. Johnson, *We: Understanding the Psychology of Romantic Love*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1983), pp. 111-112.

But individuals must then bring their new attitudes and behaviors back to their old relationships with family and friends. Pat Shirt explains that so many changes take place during treatment that people become afraid to go home.

> We try to deal with the realities of going back home. The first week we try to deal with the feelings. People have a hard time dealing with their feelings, they also have a hard time trusting. By the second week they're sharing a little bit. Third week they share more and more. Fourth week, they won't shut up and go home. They're dealing with a lot of the old hurts, a cleansing of the spirit, in a lot of ways. But they are afraid of going home. It's real. They're afraid of the changes that they've seen in themselves in the 28 days. They're afraid that they're going back to the same place...It is important that they start doing things with their family. But it's difficult because they had so many dysfunctional habits when they were drinking. Now it's time to change those to more positive habits. I think that makes for a happier family. The same for the community. They have to start doing things together...In a lot of ways that is the importance of aftercare. Seeing that we continue to support them.[2]

Leaving the supportive psychological environment is not only filled with fear. One person from O'Chiese spoke of the feeling of hope she had for herself and her community upon finishing the 28 day treatment for alcoholism.

> There was hope...There was another way. A better way. Before going into treatment you grew up with [what] you [thought was] normal, and you didn't know that there [was]

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[1] This quote is presented in the context of the group interview in Appendix A. p. 145.

[2] Pat Shirt, Executive Director, Poundmaker's Lodge, personal interview, March 4, 1988.

> another way of life. I remember C. and I coming out of treatment with a real big high and thinking that I wish everybody felt this good at the Reserve and that there was hope that someday everybody would feel that hope and that happiness. And being loved and being able to accept love.[1]

People can see themselves and others filling their needs and achieving their goals in this type of supportive relationship. As they begin to share more and more about their personal feelings, they begin to feel that it would be wonderful if the whole community could live in such a supportive, trusting fashion. What if everybody in our community felt close to others? What if everybody felt as though their feelings were accepted and their goals and desires for themselves supported? What if everybody felt good about themselves and felt that they were making important contributions to the community? These are the feelings and questions out of which a community vision arises.[2]

What begins with one individual, then, spreads to family members and friends until there is a nucleus of people in the community who are starting to wonder if it is possible for everyone in the community to feel better about themselves, and to be able to have better lives.

One person who worked in the O'Chiese Band office described the beginning of this process. Trust developed and grew in the small group of three people who originally shared the community vision. They began to make changes which spread to other community members. Attitudes began to change.

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[1] This quote is presented in the context of the group interview in Appendix A. p. 148.

[2] Geneva Ensign, Community Developer, personal interview, March 2, 1988.

> There was a big difference in these guys. They started to trust each other and they were able to accomplish things. Little things first and then bigger things. It spread to the rest of us. Being able to trust other people and to know that if I say something that sounds stupid, I'm not going to get fired right away for saying it. Well, that's pretty important. Otherwise you can't do your job. You spend your whole time doing like most white bureaucrats do, covering your ass... In which case you accomplish virtually nothing. As a group we've accomplished lots because we're able to trust each other and accept that we're going to screw up once in a while. But just because a guy screws up once in a while doesn't mean you have to kill him.[1]

The awareness of a shared vision, by itself, does not necessarily ensure the smooth transformation of the community. While the changes in each individual's attitudes and behaviors continue to have far-reaching effects, this may not be enough to change the whole community. The nucleus of people sharing the vision may realize that they do not have the skills or the ability to solidify community support for programs or policies which will facilitate the changes they have envisioned. As a group, they may have to make themselves vulnerable and ask for support from individual community developers, organizations, and other experts who come from outside their group and/or outside their community. It is at this point that the community is ready to take advantage of various community development approaches and resources.

At O'Chiese, the small nucleus of three people envisioned a mobile alcoholism treatment program to be held on the O'Chiese Reserve. (An on-reserve treatment program essentially creates the favorable psychological climate conducive to treatment within the community.) They sought and received the support of the Nechi Institute and Poundmaker's Lodge, and they hired community developer, Louise Million, to help facilitate their vision.

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[1] This quote is presented in the context of the group interview in Appendix A. p. 152.

Prior to planning the mobile treatment program, however, Louise maintained the focus on the inner needs of individuals. She continued to develop more close, trusting relationships so that everyone within the community had an opportunity to share their personal feelings and views and felt safe and supported enough to do so. Then the community, as a whole, could plan and be committed to a community vision. She explained that

> I thought that we should talk about it a lot. So we met this one time in this small group. I wanted to talk about how they saw their community. What they thought treatment would do for them. What they thought were the short term issues in the community. What were the long term issues in the community. I wanted the whole community to develop the close sharing, trusting relationship that the initial group of three had gone through, and to develop the vision for their community. The first meetings were not about mobile treatment at all...People would share their feelings. Sometimes people would cry or laugh. ~~And~~ the rest of the group would wait while they had their cry. They also dealt with a lot of conflict in the group. It was a sharing group at first. A sharing group and a direction group. And a group that tried to develop commitment. So that you would look forward to being with that group. And you would develop loyalties to that group and its goals.[1]

Although Alkali Lake and O'Chiese have met with success in dealing with alcoholism, both communities have found that they must continually reveal their needs and vulnerabilities. As alcoholism became less prevalent, both communities found that they had severe sexual abuse problems within their communities. Again they had to trust individuals and organizations from other communities and ask them for help in dealing with this problem. Again, help came in the form of resource people who could aid the individuals and communities with the healing process that needed to take place.[1]

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[1] Louise Million, Community Developer, personal interview, March 1, 1988.

This action, asking for help from outside the community, means once again sharing visions and building a trusting supportive relationship with other communities. The process starts again, this time at a community level, and a community of communities begins to develop.

Phase 3: Organizing the Community Development Process

The vision of what a community can become arises out of how people actually feel and how they would like to feel in their community. The community developer who takes a personal development approach concentrates on whether or not individuals feel they can meet their inner needs within the community. The developer aims to help communities develop policies, programs, and organizational structures which help to ensure that community members can continue to fulfill these needs. Hence, even at this stage of the community development process, the focus of the personal development approach tends not to be on the purely economic or social type of program. The developer remains concerned with meeting the inner needs of each individual while developing community policies and programs which will also meet other social and economic needs.

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[1] Maggie Hodgson, "Indian Communities Develop Futuristic Addictions Treatment and Health Approach," (Edmonton: Nechi Institute, June, 1987). (Mimeographed.)

At O'Chiese, many socio-economic programs had been tried with little success. It was not until the community started to focus on the needs of each individual that community development initiatives began to meet with success. One member of the community expressed how he felt prior socio-economic programs had failed, and that, at present, the community had faith that social and economic benefits would be the result of a continued community focus on the sobriety and health of each person.

> When we started what's happening now, we already knew that job creation programs and housing enrichment programs, capital expansion and all the rest of this crap didn't work and didn't help people. So we didn't have to waste a whole lot of time going down each of those blind alleys. We've gone down them all before, like I said earlier, back down the ladder to the basic level of human happiness and health. So they served their purpose in a way, even though they were unsuccessful...[1]
>
> We all trust that all of the other things like employment and what not will fall into place on their own, by sort of human nature or something...You can see it already, it's working around here. Now, [that] the men are sober and halfway healthy, they don't feel like they've been cheated if they put in a full day's work. Before, they thought they were cheated if somebody actually made them work. Now they, sort of, are more active. They work on their own. They don't need to be threatened.[2]

Community developers who take a personal development approach are very careful to leave the power with the community members. Much time is given to ensuring that each community member who wants to is able to share his thoughts and feelings about what he would like to see in his community. Again, a respectful, trusting, sharing environment is created and nurtured. It is in this environment that both positive and negative feelings are discussed and goals for the development of the community are shared.

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[1] This quote is presented in the context of the group interview in Appendix A. p. 143.

[2] This quote is presented in the context of the group interview in Appendix A. p. 156.

Community developer, Louise Million, refused to make decisions for the O'Chiese community. Instead, she focused on creating an environment in which everyone felt they could participate.

> The thing that I felt we needed to do was to build a power base in the community. Leaving the power in the community with the people who are going to be affected...[there was] a lot of pressure on me to make decisions. I found that my biggest job during the first couple of months was to resist that pressure and just let people talk and talk and talk. My job was to facilitate it. We started doing things like "where are we's" at the beginning of each meeting, before we ever went into agendas. The agendas were always generated at the meeting. No one was ever excluded. There was no such thing as you don't have a place in this meeting.[1]

People talk about how they want to feel. They talk about their visions, and out of these they develop guidelines. Then they develop policies and programs which are in keeping with these guidelines.[2] And they find ways of developing skills to implement these policies and programs while maintaining the integrity of their feelings and visions.[3]

At Alkali Lake, in order to facilitate their vision of a heathy, sober community, a policy was implemented that

> ...ensured every man, woman and child participated in training in alcoholism and communications and counselling. Why? Because drug abuse helps to reduce self esteem and people

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[1] Louise Million, Community Developer, personal interview, March 1, 1988,

[2] The policies implemented by Alkali Lake and outlined in Chapter IV, pp. 73-74, are examples of creating policy to implement community goals.

[3] Geneva Ensign, Community Developer, personal interview, March 2, 1988.

> had to recognize the damage of returning to alcohol and to see how they could assist their neighbors...Training focused heavily on the development of the people and their emotions and communication between couples...To work with the extended family, Alkali Lake utilized their community as a treatment centre, thereby including everyone who was affected. The training process utilized Native trainers from Alberta, their own community members, non-Native trainers and the local community college... The heavy training process of the community continued for approximately five years. Within that time Alkali Lake developed their own human relations Training Institute which assisted their community members and provided assistance to outside communities.[1]

Figure 2 illustrates how this process moves between individual self-awareness and the implementation of community goals, as skills are developed. As individuals share their needs and visions, and develop a community vision and goals, they also become aware of the skills that they will need in order to achieve their goals. They acquire the necessary skills to help them implement the community vision. Individual community members will gain expertise in different, more specialized, areas which will allow each member to make his unique contribution to achieving the community vision. Figure 2 also conveys the notion that the process is in a constant state of flux at both the individual and community levels. As skills are developed, as problems are solved, and as goals are reached, new needs become known, new visions emerge, and new skills are required.

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[1] Maggie Hodgson, "Indian Communities Develop Futuristic Addictions Treatment and Health Approach," p. 6.

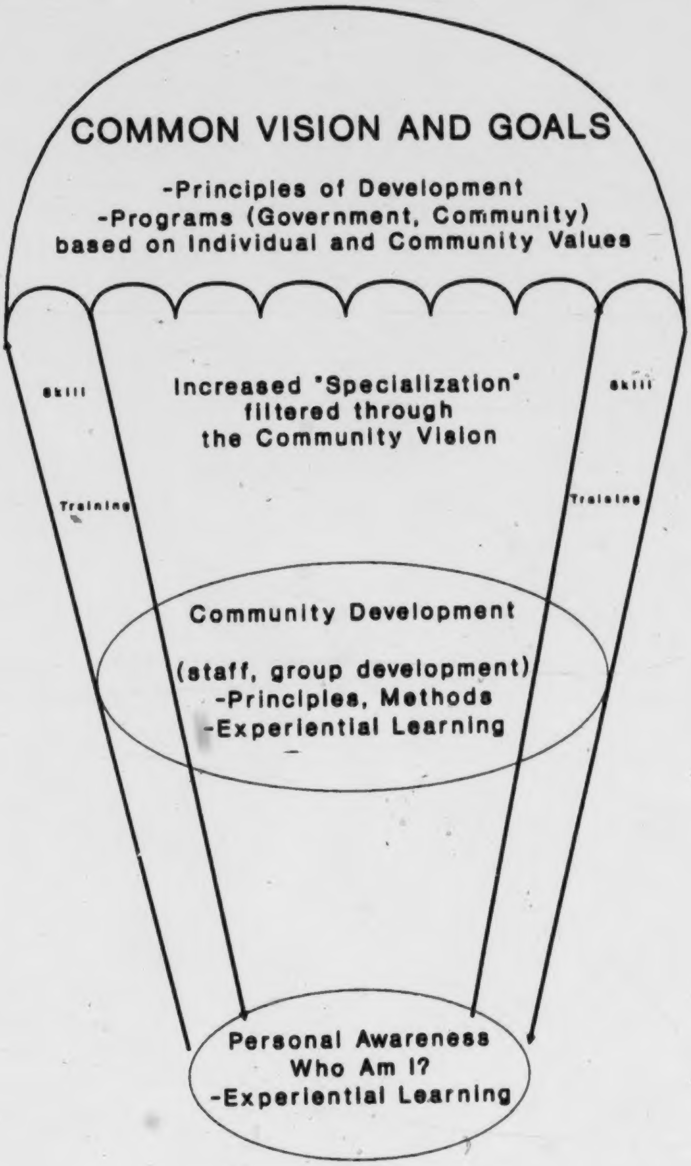
COMMON VISION AND GOALS
-Principles of Development
-Programs (Government, Community) based on Individual and Community Values
Skill
Training
Increased "Specialization" filtered through the Community Vision
Skill
Training
Community Development
(staff, group development)
-Principles, Methods
-Experiential Learning
Personal Awareness
Who Am I?
-Experiential Learning

FIGURE 2 **RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERSONAL/COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND SKILL TRAINING**[1]

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[1] Adapted from Geneva Ensign and Bob Langin, (Explorations, 1983), (Mimeographed.)

Organizational Structure

Once the guidelines, which arise out of the feelings of the people, are articulated, the community can formalize a community development organization which continues to facilitate open, trusting, supportive relationships while simultaneously addressing the other social and economic objectives of the community. A relatively flat, organic, or circular type of organizational structure facilitates the co-operation and commitment of all community members by maintaining flexibility, maximum input from community members, and the maintenance of trust and support. Every constituency within the community, as well as those outside institutions and agencies which influence the community, is represented in this organization.

The organization is structured to keep as much responsibility and power with each individual member as possible, so that community members continue to feel that their input is valuable and can influence the community.In this way no one person or group is held entirely responsible for the outcome of any project and each person is accountable for his own area of responsibility.

One member of the O'Chiese community confirmed that this type of organization helped build the feeling that each individual was a valuable part of the community.

> if people feel that they own or they are a part of what's going on, then it increases the chance of success. Then they can take credit for it going O.K. It's not because somebody else did it. It's because they had a piece in it that it worked.[1]

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[1] This quote is presented in the context of the group interview in Appendix A. p. 154.

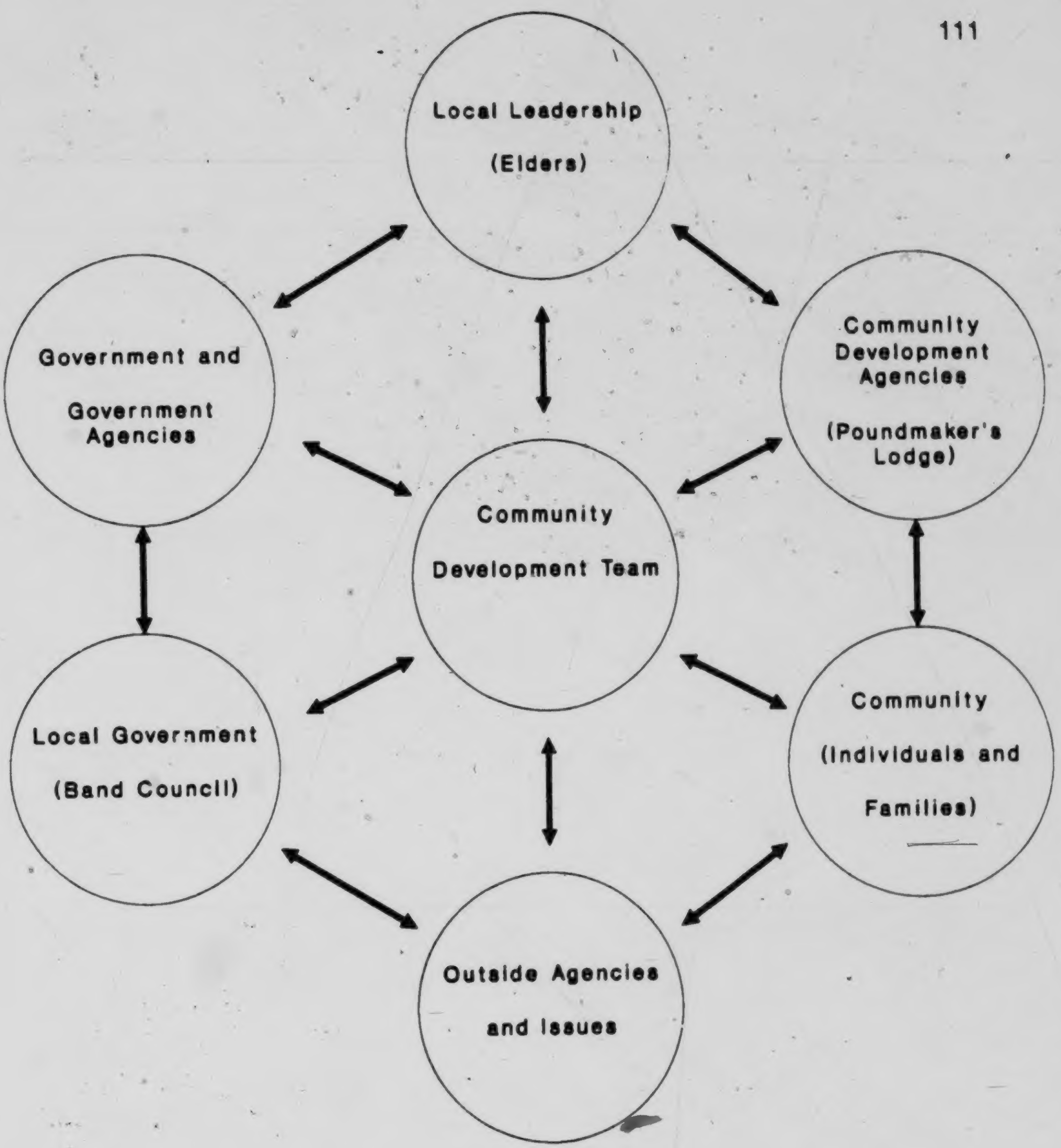

FIGURE 3 **CIRCULAR STRUCTURE FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION**[1]

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[1] Adapted from RPM Planning Associates Limited, "Review and Assessment of the O'Chiese Community Rehabilitation Program," January 11, 1988. p. 5. (Mimeographed.)

The circular organizational structure used at O'Chiese[1], and illustrated in Figure 3, lends itself to spreading responsibility and commitment throughout the community by facilitating

> (1) members contributing to common tasks; (2) tasks being adjusted and redefined through interactions among team members; (3) less hierarchy of authority and control; (4) few rules; (5) knowledge and control of tasks to be accomplished; and (6) communication and problem-solving by the members.[2]

Community Leadership

If the people involved in the personal development process are the leaders of the community, the process is accelerated considerably. However, it seems quite possible that individuals who become self-aware, who are able to develop better quality interpersonal relationships, and who appear to be using their power to fulfill their needs, attract the attention and respect of others and may soon find themselves in leadership roles as did Andy Chelsea at Alkali Lake.

Community leaders who are actively participating in their own personal development processes benefit the community in a number of ways. They form a group in which support and trust are facilitated, allowing community members to have strong voices in the community. They develop and enforce policies which leave responsibility and power with each community member, and they do away with policies which enable community members to remain victims of powerlessness.

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[1] The circular structure was particularly popular at O'Chiese because it fit with the traditional Saulteaux culture. Louise Million related that "when I presented the circular structure, the old people said, "That's exactly the way it's supposed to be." That was really neat because the group decided to go with that type of organization which meant that there was no leader."

[2] Adapted from RPM Planning Associates Limited, "Review and Assessment of the O'Chiese Community Rehabilitation Program", January 11, 1988. p. 4.

But perhaps the most important function of community leaders, who are firmly engaged in their own personal development paths, is that they are role models to other community members. They demonstrate new ways of behaving that others may admire and imitate. Often "if a person's behavior changes, his thinking will follow,"[1] so role modeling can be a very effective way of changing behaviors and attitudes within a community.

The Ongoing Nature of the Process

As the community and the individuals within it move towards health in its fullest sense, goals and visions change. The achievement of one goal may open up new feelings to be explored, new problems to be faced, new visions to be shared and new goals to be met.[2]

Because of the ceaseless nature of the process, it is important that support systems be built into the community development plan. A community which has support systems will be able to remain open to hearing new needs and supporting its members as they try to fulfill these needs. It will be flexible enough to take the necessary actions even if this means changing behaviors, thinking, programs and policies that previously appeared to meet the needs of the members of the community.

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[1] Maggie Hodgson, Executive Director, Nechi Institute, personal interview, March 14, 1988.

[2] Both Alkali Lake and O'Chiese community found that the elimination of one social problem, alcoholism, made way for awareness of another problem, sexual abuse, which could not be clearly seen while alcoholism was rampant in the community.

The awareness of new problems, visions and goals means that individuals must again become aware of their feelings, their needs and their power to think and behave differently. Again, they must make themselves vulnerable and ask for help in developing new awarenesses and new skills which will help them achieve new goals. In this way the personal and community development process is like an onion: As one layer is removed, it reveals another layer of feelings, needs, visions and goals which also ask to be met.[1]

The process comes full circle. It starts again with the individual's inner needs, moves through self-awareness, to awareness of others in genuine relationship, and on toward shared community vision and formal community development policies and programs. Like a one-sided mobius strip[2], personal development and community development are the same process twisting back on itself.

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[1] Maggie Hodgson, Executive Director, Nechi Institute, personal interview, March 14, 1988.

[2] A mobius strip is a ring which has only one surface.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The overall purpose of this thesis has been to explore the relationship between personal development and community development, to discover the ways in which personal development may contribute to the field of community development. Alkali Lake and O'Chiese were chosen for study because, in these communities, personal development, initially in the form of alcoholism treatment, appears to have evolved into community development.

To achieve the overall purpose, three objectives were established. The first was to gain an understanding of the impact the treatment of individual alcohol addictions had on the community development process. The second objective was to identify elements of the personal development process which contributed to community development. The third objective was to explore the relationship between the individual's perception of self and the dynamics of change in the community.

Impact of Individual Alcoholism Treatment on Community Development

Alkali Lake and O'Chiese each suffered from almost 100% alcoholism. In each community, the development processes began with the commitment of one woman to address her alcohol addiction. These women were joined, over time, by a few other individuals in their respective communities who had made similar commitments to achieving and maintaining sobriety. Through alcoholism treatment and support groups like Alcoholics Anonymous, these people began their own personal development processes. They also began to form the nucleus of the sober community on their reserves.

It may be significant that on each reserve, the members of this small sober nucleus were, or soon became, the elected government. At Alkali Lake, Andy Chelsea was elected Chief not long after he became sober. He asked his Band Councilors to make a commitment to becoming and remaining sober. At O'Chiese, it was the Chief who decided to go for treatment and had her Band Councilors commit themselves to undergoing treatment as well.

As a result of having undergone treatment themselves, the Chiefs and Councilors began to see that the policies and decisions of the Band Council had enabled alcohol dependencies to continue among Band members. They were now confronted with the need to make and enforce band policies which no longer enabled alcohol addictions to continue. For instance, band employees in both communities were expected to be punctual and sober while on the job. Employees who were not able to comply with this were offered a choice between accepting treatment for alcoholism or being dismissed from their job. (Alcoholism and absenteeism by band employees had previously been tolerated, thereby enabling alcoholism to continue.) The outcome of these and other band policies was to confront most of the band members with the choice of accepting treatment or living in a situation that was untenable.

As community members became healthier and their self-esteem started to increase, they became aware of the types of opportunities they would like to have for themselves in their communities. They shared their visions for their community, and they organized themselves to take advantage of existing resources and available assistance to help them change their dreams into reality. Alkali Lake began a community controlled school, developed a community cultural centre, and established a human relations training institute on the reserve. O'Chiese organized the mobile treatment program and made the video *A Love Stronger than Poison*. Their community development processes continue.

The personal/community development processes of these communities seem to have progressed through three phases. The first was the treatment of individuals for alcoholism, which was essentially a personal development process. The second phase entailed the nucleus of sober individuals forming trusting relationships and coming to power on the reserve. This was essential in order to create and enforce policies that did not enable alcohol addictions to continue. Once there was a large enough body of sober individuals, a third phase of the development process began. The communities began to consider their goals for themselves. They determined what their individual and community goals were, and organized themselves to use the available resources in order to achieve the goals they had set for themselves.

These communities had long been oppressed by chronic and rampant alcohol addictions. They had remained underdeveloped despite the many socio-economic resources that had been poured into them. Out of the treatment of individual alcohol addictions, however, came a significant and ongoing process of community development that enabled the communities to make positive use of the existing resources and assistance.

Personal development, then, seems to have made a significant impact on these communities. The focus of this thesis has been to understand more clearly how personal development contributes to community development. To this end, elements of the personal development process were identified. The ways in which the individual's changing perception of self contributed to the changes in the communities were also outlined. The following section discusses these aspects of the personal/community development process.

The Contributions of Personal Development to Community Development

The initial stages of these personal/community development processes began as individuals entered treatment for alcoholism. Treatment helped individuals to become more aware of their inner experience and to allow their inner experience to guide their lives. Four elements of the personal development process have been identified.

1. Feelings - Treatment and other personal development training focused on helping individuals to become aware of their feelings, to consciously differentiate between their actual feelings and what they believed they ought to feel, and to express those feelings in a safe environment.
2. Personal Responsibility - Individuals were encouraged to use their feelings to help them define their personal needs for growth and development. As individuals became more self-focused and less focused on changing others, they began to realize their personal responsibility for their own development.

3. Personal Power - Individuals learned that they could change themselves, by adopting new behaviors and attitudes which may be more useful in meeting the needs for development that they had defined for themselves. Accepting personal responsibility and making changes in oneself - as opposed to trying to change others - helps individuals to realize the power they have to change their life circumstances.
4. Vulnerability - People also learned to be vulnerable, to share their feelings and their hopes honestly, to experiment with new behaviors, and to ask others for help or support when needed despite the fact that they risk being hurt or rejected. In so doing, they came to understand that other individuals were also vulnerable, also engaged in the struggle to develop.

How did these elements of self-awareness contribute to community development? As individuals became more self-focused, they began to realize the power that they had to change the circumstances in their own lives. They began to rely less on trying to change others, and began to make changes in their own lives, sharing their hopes and fears, and asking support from others. The outcome of this process was to deepen relationships between community members. Trust began to develop and, with trust, there came the ability to accomplish small things. As trust spread to include members of other communities, bigger things were accomplished, such as the mobile treatment program at O'Chiese, the production of the video *The Honor of All*, and the establishment of a human relations training institute at Alkali Lake. As Lawrence E. Harrison pointed out in Chapter II of this thesis, "a whole set of possibilities opens up when trust is extended..."[1]

Personal development, then, contributes to community development by deepening the psychological ties that each individual has with other members of the community. This is done by facilitating a deepening awareness of self as a separate individual with unique abilities and needs. Out of the awareness that each person within the community has his or her own unique needs for development which must be met but which cannot be prescribed, comes a respect for others which facilitates trust. Far from being a "selfish" process, personal development fosters interdependence as individuals realize that they each have something to offer and something to learn in their communities. As community members come to respect the validity of each other's feelings and needs, this process potentially provides a way for every community member to achieve increasing levels of development and to experience improvement in his or her well-being.

Personal Development In the Context of Other Approaches to Community Development

In the context of the communities of Alkali Lake and O'Chiese, personal development appears to have been essential in preparing the communities for other approaches to community development. In the case of O'Chiese, specifically, the personal development of key individuals appears to have paved the way for the self-help approach to community development that later emerged. Both communities became better able to utilize available social and economic resources, as well as technical assistance, to achieve their personal and community goals and visions.

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[1] Harrison, *Underdevelopment is a State of Mind,* p. 8.

Personal development may complement and contribute to each of the major approaches to development. A discussion of these contributions follows.

Personal Development and Self-Help

As discussed in Chapter II of this thesis, Littrell identified six notions which accompanied the self-help approach to community development. He examined these notions, which are listed below, and found that they may be largely untrue in today's changing society. Furthermore, he suggested that these notions must be carefully considered since they could either hinder or help the self-help approach. Presumably, if the conditions suggested by these notions exist within the community they may facilitate community development. However, if they do not exist, community development may be hindered, particularly if the developer does not recognize that they do not exist.

At Alkali Lake and O'Chiese, these companion notions initially were not true. Personal development appears to have transformed the communities, creating the environment required for a more effective self-help process. An examination of the contributions personal development made to fulfilling the conditions outlined by the companion notions at O'Chiese follows.[1]

Companion notion 1: *People know how to participate in the local setting.*

This was not true in the case of O'Chiese. Band members did not trust each other and were afraid to share their feelings or their hopes with other individuals, let alone a community group. In short, people were afraid to participate in a meaningful way in the local setting.

The awareness of one's needs, the ability to articulate those needs, and trust in oneself and others are necessary in order to participate effectively in the local setting. In treatment, individuals who did not have a history of sharing with others were allowed a safe place to practise new behaviors such as articulating their feelings and their needs. Back in the community once again, people began to trust others and began to take new risks. In other words, people who had little experience sharing feelings and needs openly were helped to develop trust in themselves and others, and were able to practise the new behavior of articulating their feelings and their needs in a clear manner.

Companion notion 2: *The local setting is open for those who wish to participate.*

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[1] This discussion is focused specifically on O'Chiese since the researcher has more in-depth information from O'Chiese respondents, as well as more personal experience with the community prior to the current development process.

In a situation in which there is little trust, community members do not feel as though the situation is open. One Band employee felt that if he made a mistake he would be fired.

Just as individuals learned in treatment to risk sharing their feelings, they also learned to respect the needs of others to be listened to in a supportive way without judgement or ridicule. As the nucleus of people at O'Chiese learned to listen in a supportive way, other individuals began to trust that they would be heard and supported. They began to make contributions because they were no longer afraid that they would be ridiculed or fired if they made a mistake. Thus, the personal listening skills and respect for others that were learned in personal development training programs contributed to creating a local situation that was more open to the participation of all its members.

Companion notion 3: *Communities tend to be stable and homogeneous, with a common value base*, and

Companion notion 4: *When people come together to participate, somehow the decision-making process is easier.*

While community members had many things in common, they also had different personal goals and feelings. Through the personal development process, people learned to trust enough to share their individual points of view. They also learned to listen with respect and support. This facilitates the expression of all points of view.

As differing points of view were shared, however, it became clear that there was some conflict. Conflict can be frightening or uncomfortable to deal with but, as Littrell and Rogers found, it is necessary that all points of view be considered if a satisfactory outcome is to be achieved.

Dealing with conflict may be facilitated by the personal development process because it helps individuals to work through feelings and develop an understanding of personal responsibility. In the personal development process, individuals learn that feelings, including anger, can tell them much about their needs for development as well as help them determine where their responsibility lies in meeting their needs. From this perspective, expressing and listening to anger becomes important as it can help to clarify needs for development. Rather than being avoided, conflict or anger can be regarded as an opportunity for individuals to clarify their needs and identify their responsibilities.

Companion notion 5: *Communities or groups of people have a basic autonomy*, and

Companion notion 6: *The self-help approach is a self-contained process.*

Personal development training helped individuals within the communities to develop more personal autonomy, by establishing where they had personal control and where they did not. This spread to the community level, with the community realizing what it could do for itself and where it needed to ask for assistance. Rather than blaming their problems on such things as poor housing or unemployment, band members took direct responsibility for addressing the alcoholism that seemed to underlie many of the other social problems. Where band members needed additional expertise or needed to develop new skills, they sought help from a variety of resources from outside their communities. Thus they achieved a healthier balance between a self-contained local autonomy, and becoming open to using the skills and knowledge that existed in other communities.

Personal Development and the Conflict Approach

Personal development and the conflict approach to community development have some similarities. Both personal development and the conflict approach begin with the feelings of the community members. Personal development focuses peoples' attention on their feelings so that individuals may become aware of their needs and their personal power to act in order to fulfill their needs. The conflict approach focuses on feelings in order to help individuals see the injustice in the unequal distribution of resources. When a conflict utilization strategy is employed, the deep feelings of resentment that this process arouses are used to channel people into a larger group which is organized to take action to influence the existing power structure to change.

The difficulty with the idea of utilizing conflict to influence the power structure is that the power to make changes can be seen as being outside the individual or the community. If this view is taken, individuals or groups may continue to think of themselves as dependent upon the existing power structure, their only power lying in the degree to which they can influence that power structure.

The concepts of personal responsibility and personal power, which are central to personal development, suggest that people, both individually and in groups, must take responsibility for their own difficulties, and exercise their power to take action to change their situations. These concepts facilitate a conflict management strategy. At both Alkali Lake and O'Chiese, the communities took responsibility for their social problems. They started with changing their personal behaviors and attitudes which had helped to maintain them in a dependent state. Once their attitudes and behaviors changed, they began to see the ways in which they could make changes within their own communities. Instead of using their feelings of resentment to try to force changes in external power structures[1], they used their feelings to help define for themselves the changes they wanted to see in their community. They used their power to mobilize their resources in pursuit of their goals. Treated individuals assumed power on the reserves, and they created policies that did not enable alcohol abuse to continue unchecked. These changes did not require a change in off-Reserve power structures. Once they learned to use the power they did have to change their circumstances, they were better able to determine the additional assistance they needed and to use it effectively.

Personal Development and the Socio-Economic and Technical Assistance Approaches

In direct contradiction with the underlying assumptions of the technical assistance approach, personal development is based on the assumption that individuals have an inner awareness that can be trusted to guide their development. The socio-economic and technical assistance approaches to community development are not based on such faith in individuals. Instead, they are based on the assumption that assistance must be provided to individuals and communities who are unwilling or unable to direct their own development. Even with such a basic contradiction in philosophy, however, personal development may complement the socio-economic and technical assistance approaches, and may in fact create in underdeveloped communities an environment which is more conducive to the success of socio-economic and technical assistance approaches.

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[1] Such external power structures might include the Department of Indian Affairs or the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Personal development centers around helping individuals to find out what their needs are and how they want to develop. As individuals and communities discover what they need, they may find socio-economic or technical assistance to be useful in helping them to achieve their goals. When this type of assistance is seen as facilitating individual and community goals, rather than promoting the goals of the provider, participation in programs may be more wholehearted and more successful.

There is one note of caution, however. Sometimes socio-economic and technical assistance is invited because communities feel that these programs, alone, will make positive changes in the communities. If these communities have not gone through the somewhat painful process of self-discovery, they may be asking for assistance prematurely.

Personal Development and the Dependency Theory of Underdevelopment

The inclusion of personal development in the community development process may resolve a question raised by the dependency theory of underdevelopment. The dependency theory suggests that communities are most successful when they are least influenced by the metropoles, and that their greatest contributions to the world community may come out of their uniqueness. Yet the theory does not give a clear suggestion of how underdeveloped and dependent communities might achieve the independence necessary for development.

Personal development helps individuals to find an inner reference, rather than depending on external sources, to tell them who they should be. As people start to express their uniqueness in a community setting, the community also discovers its unique nature. Goals that arise out of this process become an expression of the uniqueness of the community. Once the community becomes used to an internal reference point, it no longer depends on external metropoles to tell it what it must produce and how it must relate to other communities. Through a process of looking inward, the community begins to produce goods and services which are an expression of its unique nature. It decides which resources it needs to fulfill its own goals. This may take the form of utilizing socio-economic or technical assistance programs to achieve the goals of the community rather than the goals of the provider. The focus of personal development on the power of the individual to actualize his or her needs for development, then, contributes to helping individuals and communities to accept and actualize their power. Through this process they become less dependent on the prescriptions of external authorities or metropoles.

A Unified Community Development Process

In some communities, personal development may be a necessary starting point for a community development process which incorporates the self-help, conflict, and socio-economic/technical assistance approaches. Such a community development process may present a way for underdeveloped and dependent communities to move towards increasing levels of independence and development without sacrificing their uniqueness. Similar to the process at O'Chiese, the stages of this process may correspond to the major approaches to community development discussed in this thesis.

Stage 1: Personal Development - Individuals learn to identify their inner needs, and to acquire a sense of personal responsibility and power to fulfill these needs. They develop trust, learn to take risks, and share their personal hopes, needs, strengths and weaknesses with others.

Stage 2: Self-Help - In a trusting environment, individuals come together in the community and genuinely share their visions for themselves. A community vision arises which takes into consideration the needs of each individual. The community may organize itself so that it continues to be receptive to the needs of individuals, yet is able to delegate the work involved in achieving its goals.

Stage 3: Conflict - During this stage the communities may define their responsibilities for development. This may not necessarily involve utilizing conflict to threaten or influence existing power structures, but may involve a process in which the community accepts responsibility for its problems, clarifies its goals and mobilizes its resources in pursuit of its goals. This process will also involve the community in deciding which resources and assistance it will require from outside communities and agencies. Rather than allowing itself to be inundated indiscriminately by social, economic and technical assistance and goals of assistance providers, which may create resentment, the community decides which assistance it will accept or reject based on its own goals.

Stage 4: Socio-economic - Once the community has clarified its goals, and decided what assistance it may require in order to achieve those goals, it is able to make effective use of socio-economic and technical assistance in a way that develops the community while maintaining its uniqueness and integrity.

The community development process, then, moves from the inner experience of individuals yet may continue to encompass personal development, improved interpersonal relationships, and independent relationships with other communities and metropoles. Such a process may result in increased, but not indiscriminate, economic productivity and technological advancement. If the community has organized itself so that it remains responsive to the needs of individuals, development may continue in this way as certain needs are filled and new needs for development arise.

Questions and Recommendations for Further Research

The aim of this study has been to discover how personal development might contribute to community development. To this end, the communities of Alkali Lake and O'Chiese were studied and their processes were analyzed. While the information gained from the study of these communities has provided some insight into the contributions of personal development to community development, there remain questions concerning how widely these findings can be generalized.

Perhaps, for instance, the personal/community development process is unique to Alkali Lake and O'Chiese. Both communities suffered from close to 100% alcoholism. Achieving sobriety was the initial focus of their efforts. Personal development may have been an effective starting point for community development due to the personal nature of the problem. Would personal development have evolved into community development in other underdeveloped communities?

These communities were small and relatively isolated, and quite uniform in nature. Could personal development be effective in larger or more culturally diverse communities?

These communities were highly dysfunctional. Would personal development contribute as much to community development in communities that are less dysfunctional than were O'Chiese and Alkali Lake?

While community development appears to have evolved out of the focus on personal development in these communities, were there other conditions that facilitated this progression? At both Alkali Lake and O'Chiese, the small nucleus of sober and treated individuals was, or soon became, the political power structure on the reserve. Is the personal/community development process dependent upon these individuals assuming political power in their communities? Would personal development have had as much impact if those individuals who had begun their personal development processes had not had political power within the community?

Could these individuals have influenced the community development process if they had been respected members of the community but not the elected power structure? Since these individuals were elected, what might happen to the current community development processes if the band elected a Chief and Council who were untreated and not involved in personal development?

Conflict is a part of the community development process. While one or two references were made to conflict in the personal/community development processes of these bands, there are no specific data which suggest how conflict was dealt with. How have these communities learned to deal with conflict, and what role has it played in their community development processes?

The unified community development process proposed in this thesis also raises some interesting questions. For instance, is it necessary that personal development always be the starting point for a comprehensive community development process? Do the stages outlined here follow one another chronologically, do they overlap, or could the process start at any stage and move around, eventually including the other stages of the process?

Personal development has had a positive effect on the development of these two communities, but the current community development processes have only been in effect at Alkali Lake and O'Chiese for ten and two years, respectively. These are relatively short periods of time. A longitudinal study is necessary to assess the changing character and long-term merits of their community development processes.

Since these two communities were fairly similar in nature, it is not possible to determine how extensively personal development may contribute to community development in communities with different problems. Research into the contributions of personal development to the community development processes of other types of communities should also be undertaken before any conclusion can be drawn as to its suitability for communities with differing kinds of underdevelopment.

This study identifies some ways in which personal development contributes to the community development process. Further research is necessary in order to determine how essential personal development is to a comprehensive community development process.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

EXCERPTS FROM O'CHIESE GROUP INTERVIEW

Nine members of the O'Chiese community were interviewed in a group setting, on March 3, 1988, to investigate their perceptions of their personal and community development processes. They spoke freely about their experiences. Excerpts have been organized into topics and are presented here.

One person responded to the interview by telling his life story. While this was both interesting and moving, it is too lengthy to be included here and has been omitted. The remainder of the interview is presented here, the only changes being those necessary to make the spoken grammar more easily understood when transcribed into a written form. Names and initials have been changed to protect the identity of the individuals.

How Were the People Feeling in the Community Before Treatment?

Comments as to how the interviewees felt about the O'Chiese Band prior to the start of this ongoing community development process included the following:

A. I only started working here in December of '85 and you could feel the pain here. You could see it on people's faces; you could see it in the kids and when you visited homes.

B. I think a lot of it was covered up.

C. It was covered up through alcoholism.

B. When I first started work here [seven years ago] I could feel it with the little kids. Sometimes I used to go home

> and I'd be in tears in my truck after I'd cross the bridge. I'd see these little girls particularly, they'd be like Z., 8, 9, 10 years old. Just knowing what their life was like, what their older brothers and sisters were like, working in the houses I used to work in, I'd be in the houses a lot of the time during the day. A lot of people weren't around except me to see what was going on. And, yeah, there was lots of pain, but a lot of it was covered up with parties and wine and anger. Anger was one of the main things. Everybody was mad at everybody all the time - mad at each other, mad at me, mad at Indian Affairs, mad at the police. It doesn't eliminate the pain but it deflects it, covers it all up where it hides the real problem. It's a real shame that it takes so long for it to start developing.

Later in the interview people were asked if they experienced trust in the community prior to the beginning of the community development process. The following excerpt contains their responses.

> I. Was there trust here before?
>
> All: No, No, No way.
>
> D. No trust!
>
> A. I used to call D. into my office when I first started. I used to see her coming from this little building here. She'd get to the door. I'd call "D." And she'd try to tiptoe by. As if she thought "She's going to ask me something that I don't know."
>
> D. No trust!
>
> I. Was that with the people who worked together? What about with your families?
>
> All: No trust anywhere.
>
> B. There wasn't an ounce of trust on the reserve. All together. If you would have distilled it all. (laughter)

Some people also volunteered how they now perceived their personal histories in the context of their families.

C. I think for me I'm just realizing that I have to do more work on realizing that I have come from a home of alcoholics. There are these rules that develop along the stages for each individual in the family. For me there were rules such as "you don't talk, you don't trust and you don't feel." I've been working on these rules for so many years. I thought that when I became a parent that wouldn't happen. But it did happen. For me to have an understanding of how to get away from that has been a real struggle. As a matter of fact at our last training I wrote a sort of poem or letter to my mother which went like this. "Mother, if you loved me why did you teach me not to talk? Mother, if you loved me why did you teach me not to trust other people?" Even though I know the difference now, I still love her because I know that it was just a part of her sickness. We didn't know how to communicate with each other within the family. Now we've found better ways. I think for me, [I've been] running around with a lot of resentments in me. Even though I loved my mother, I still resented her because of the things I had gone through in my past, [when I didn't] understand that she was sick at the time. I thought all that was normal.

Another person commented

D. That's one of the things I go out of my way to do for the Al-A-Teen group...We always have these mini-lectures on alcohol and behaviors. So we were just refreshing our memories when this family disease came up. [We talked about] those three rules. Don't talk. Don't feel. Don't trust. And I just - it was so emotional for me. Here they were just brainstorming and writing down how they were going to break these rules and they're so young. I never knew that as a kid, and they have so much hope. I guess I am doing that for them because I never had it. It's just so neat seeing them working together on how they're going to break the don't trust rule. They're going to talk. "If I'm feeling hurt I'm going to tell it to my mom." Things like that, it just gives me a boost to keep doing what I'm doing.

How did People Feel about Previous Community Development Programs?

As the following excerpt indicates, the community development team was asked why they felt this current process was working when others had not.

I. This community has had other development plans, you know, socio-economic development and what not. What's the difference?. They never seemed to lead any place, but this seems different.

E. It's like those socio-economic programs don't deal with the knowledge of the basic things in the human being. Stuff like everybody's just been talking about, like how you feel and what you need and what's fair to expect. Those other programs don't. It's like [they say] "let's skip the human level and let's just look at how to make ourselves feel better by having our environment look better."

B. The failure of those programs though is an important component in the eventual success of the program because it's like a game of elimination. When we started what's happening now, we already knew that job creation programs and housing enrichment programs, capital expansion and all the rest of this crap didn't work and didn't help people. So we didn't have to waste a whole lot of time going down each one of those blind alleys. We've gone down them all before, and like I said earlier, back down the ladder to the basic level of human happiness and health. So they served their purpose in a way, even though they were unsuccessful. In the same way that many other human failures did. You know we've had some human tragedies, many of them since I've been here, and I've been here seven years. I know more people on O'Chiese and Sunchild of my acquaintance that have died than all of the other people in my life together that have died and I'm 39 years old. That says a hell of a story to me. Even though I'm an outsider and not a Native person, I still form friendships and feeling relationships with people. And when they die, needlessly, and so often, it really affects you. That's just another kind of failure same as the failure of the other programs.

I. Is that changing now?

B. I hope so.

C. It is.

B. Some people are at less risk now. The people in this room are now at very little risk from suicide and alcohol related deaths, but there are many out there on the reserve that are still at very high risk...but they'll be better and better as the community heals and becomes a better and happier place to live and approaches a more normal, if there can be such a thing, normal statistics... (inaudible)

The Importance of Being Responsible For Oneself

Some of the people who began the current community development process, thought, at first, that they were getting treatment for the good of the Band. They soon realized that they were actually getting treatment for themselves. Taking care of oneself and getting support when one needs it has been essential in helping the care givers in the community to continue with this process.

The following excerpts illustrate how people discovered that they needed help and needed to learn how to help themselves.

C. I thought I was going to go in to help the Band. As it turned out, after a week in there, I found out that I was only there for myself. That I had a problem, and that in order for me to help others I had to help myself, in that way admitting that I did have a problem with alcohol. That I was an alcoholic. I knew that I had to continue working on myself even after the 28 days treatment. I was going to be an alcoholic all my life so I had to continue on how I was going to arrest the disease itself and continue living without using it [alcohol].

Another person commented

D. ...Even before C. came over to ask me to go to treatment, I knew that I had a problem with it and I was more or less on a dry drunk. I knew that I needed help

> and when she asked me to go to treatment, I saw a lot of hope for myself and I jumped for it.

Still another person revealed that

> A. For me it was like a long lost dream and it was not personal. I wasn't going to get anything out of it at first. It was for the community. For once people were starting to say things that I had thought all my life, growing up in an alcoholic home and all of a sudden it was "you know it's not right to feel this way, or it's not right to push your kids aside, or you have to be responsible for who you are, or love has to come from within". So for me it was like "holy smokes these people are thinking the same way I thought all my life so I'm not so weird." But I think for too long I looked at it like that like I was doing it for the community or whoever. I don't know why. And then all of a sudden I just cracked because I had tried to keep myself out of it until in July treatment program. Then I found the family that I never had. With all the love and caring and sharing, I was the person that I had always wanted to be for the whole month. When it was over I didn't have what was needed within me to hold onto that and I just fell apart. I had to take a month off work.

Other people commented that

> E. It's all a matter of looking after yourself. If you can look after yourself, you're strong enough to leave yourself alone to look after someone else.
>
> D. That's what we were told right at the beginning. You have to help yourself first so you can help other people. Take care of yourself, I think we heard that about a million times in two years. Take care of yourself.
>
> C. And practising what you preach. So it doesn't matter if you're cleaning up your back yard. I'm practising what I was doing and saying.

We also spoke about the importance of taking care of oneself in order to be a more effective care giver.

> I. I noticed today, in your meeting, that you're all extremely busy and all very committed to care giving. A lot of people can't handle that especially when they don't meet with success. What makes it different?

D. Well we've all burned out a few times in the past few years. We're basically learning how to take care of ourselves.

A. That's all in the process. You learn as you go along. For me, especially for the first year, I gave and I gave and I gave and I gave and I feel that I had to do that and that's just...it finally all came to a head. I wouldn't have been able to do that sooner without being able to continue what we had to do. A lot of times, I'd leave the reserve and I'd cry till I got home. Then I'd think O.K. I'm ready to go at it again tomorrow. And just keep doing that until I thought well now it's my turn and I'd crash. Everybody's had their turn.

I. What happens when somebody's crashing?

A. Well, being care givers, we don't like to crash. If you're addicted to care giving, you don't want to crash. So you do your best not to crash because when you're addicted to care giving then you feel like you're a failure because you've crashed. For me when I crashed, I felt like a complete failure. [I thought that] everybody in my past was right. They said I was really going to add up to nothing and here I was, on the brink of being unable to do anything. But I learned about why it happened and what I was going through. And [I learned to] accept how I was feeling and what I've gained from that. I never want to go back there, but I learned to take care of myself and I don't know if I'm going to burn out again but I'm going to try to take care of myself. And that's the learning process that everybody has to go through.

I. Do you 'get on each other's case' about whether or not you're taking care of yourselves?

E. I can remember the last case conference, C. said "how are you." And I think I said "I'm fine" and C. said "I don't believe you."

D. Because you're full of denial and if you admit you're falling apart it's like letting the people down.

I. Is care giving an addiction?

All: Yeah, it is an addiction.

I. Are you in the process of trying to break the addiction? With alcohol, you can stop drinking, but it doesn't work that way with care giving. Can you be a care giver without being addicted to care giving?

A. Yes, you're a better care giver then . . . Keep others on your care giving list, but put your own name on the list as well...Love your neighbour as yourself and if you can't love yourself, God help your neighbour.

Developing the Community Vision through Sharing Feelings, Support and Trust

Considering that members of this community felt that there "was not an ounce of trust on the reserve" before this process began, it is interesting to hear the way they speak of the feelings they have since shared. As they shared their experiences in the interview some of the people cried openly. All spoke with emotion. Everyone indicated that they had found it a wonderful experience to be in an environment where they felt safe and cared about. Then they experienced fear that this would not be part of the community when treatment ended.

The following are some excerpts which illustrate the depth of feeling out of which arose the community vision.

A. I haven't shared this with very many people. When we did the evaluation in September, I was really hiding then, I wasn't talking to anybody, I wasn't sharing anything and I was really negative. M., who did the evaluation, talked to me during the break, and asked me why I was so negative. I was mad, I was hurting and I was angry at a lot of people for....'cause it felt so good in July, for once having a family, and people that cared about you, and people that were honest with you if you screwed up, they told you you screwed up but they still loved you anyway. I said to him that day that I could understand people like R., one of the worst drinkers on the Reserve, and she goes into this treatment program for a month, and she learns all about love and she gets hugs every day, people care for her, and listen to her and then all of a sudden it's taken away and you don't have inside you enough of that to keep going. The same thing happened to me. I understand why these people relapsed 'cause they've never had that all their life. They've just been thrown garbage and told they're no good. Then all of a sudden for one month everybody was telling you what a wonderful person you were. That was part of my anger is that they made me feel and become a real person and all of a sudden they were gone, I didn't know how to hold on to that.

E. You felt abandoned.

A. Yeah. And he asked me to share that in the large group and I said no, I couldn't because I knew I would just crack up. I didn't know if I'd ever be able to be normal again.... So for me it worked because it was like a family that worked together and shared and cared together. It was like a family! And a lot of people have never had that.

E. Sounds like one of the things that happened to you...was that you recognized you had a need for love. You want to be loved, you want to be accepted, you want to be cared for, and that it's O.K. to expect that. And that if it's not there then it hurts. And if you're not even aware of those things then you're not admitting it to yourself, I guess, let alone other people.

I. Is one of the things that you all learned through the treatment what you needed inside? What did you learn there that made such a difference?

D. There was hope. And that there was another way. A better way. Before going into treatment you grew up with that and you think that's normal, and you didn't know that there is another way of life. I remember C. and I coming out of treatment with a real big high and thinking that I wish everybody felt this good at the Reserve and that there was hope that someday everybody would feel that hope and that happiness. And being loved and being able to accept love. Like today now I feel like it's one big family. You know you can't come into the office feeling really bad, you can't get away with that because someone is gonna corner you anyway. (laughter) And they want to take the time to sit with you because they care. Everybody understands.

Many people shared that they became more aware of the pain that they had been feeling all their lives. Through treatment, they learned that it didn't have to be that way any more. They had a choice, and together they hoped to change this for themselves and for their community. Out of this pain, they learned to trust themselves and to trust a Higher Power.

C. There's a saying that I heard that has stuck with me. It says that the greatest gift the Higher Power can give us is pain. I thought Hmm, that's weird, then learning to understand that is the greatest thing because we get to a point where we can turn that around to a positive, to make us realize that.

A. When I think about when we first started talking the three of us would sit in my office and talk. If they would have known then how I used to feel inside, they probably would have fired me on the spot. I'd think oh no, they trust me, they believe in what I say, they respect what I say, Oh my God, I'm going to fail or something. They're going to find out who I really am. In September of last year I said hey you guys, I've just been fooling you for a year. That's how it had affected me, my whole life. But I didn't want to let go of it because I was needed and it felt good. But I still kept thinking someday they're going to find out that I'm really not who they think I am. It's weird.

I. It doesn't sound like you're afraid of that any more.

A. No...In September it was really just a matter of touch and go whether I just run away or whether I stayed and faced what I had to face. And to see whether they still liked me after I faced it. And it was time to do it and the safest place to do it. Again I still believe that it was just all in God's plan. Things work that way, the whole time you think well he's watching over us. We prayed a lot.

D. I think that's what we did right from the beginning is just to rely on our Higher Power. Trusting it. A lot of times it was hard.

A. Not only listening to people's pain but seeing it out here. Seeing it. And knowing and just believing that it had to be different. That we had to show them that there was another way, that there didn't always have to be that pain.

I. I wanted to talk a little more about pain because, in my own experience, it seems that if you get your own pain out and deal with it, it seems easier to help other people with their pain. Do you find that that's been your experience?

E. It does to me, I'm not quite sure how to say it. I can think of one example where I was talking to N. in my office in town one day. Right after she went to treatment, I think. For some reason she and I had probably the deepest discussion I've ever had with her and I've talked to her lots of times. And it had something to do with me, it wasn't her. And that was right when I was seeing somebody after my husband and I separated and I think it was 'cause of me. It was something in me that I let her go to a deeper emotion. I didn't control something to keep it in, sort of, a safe section. She was able to express more feelings because of something in me. That was the first time it happened. I've had more experience in the past year with that kind of stuff. I don't know really how to explain it.

C. I know some of the things that I went through as far as the pain that I was experiencing, I would be in therapy and other things would come into play. I remember when I was very mad and hurt and doing some therapy work with L., as I was doing this exercise I was beating on a pillow and I was doing this exercise and something entirely different came up as if I was beating on my father that had died. I couldn't figure out why this was happening to me, why I was doing this. I never really knew that I had a lot of anger towards him for dying on me. But then after I'd gone through that therapy session, I understood that I was very angry at him for dying and for leaving me this way. Somebody that really cared for me. So it was a grieving process that I was going through that time. For a long time I was stuck. Then I was able to put the pieces back together. But I didn't know, like, how could I be mad at my father? He's dead and he was somebody I loved so I couldn't be mad at him. This is what I packed around.

I. It's not the right thing to do, so I just won't feel it?

A. Yeah, when you talk about pain, woooo. When I think about people like X. and F. who used to come into my office on assistance days. They were so closed, you couldn't even get a smile out of them or anything. They use to walk out and a lot of times my heart just went with them thinking what have they lived through that was so bad that they can't even give a smile or say hi.

I. Talk about what's happened to you, F.

F. I was one of the clients at the mobile treatment, and it was scary...[I thought] I'm not going to allow anyone to come close to me or even to know me very well. And when I used to go into A.'s office I just wanted to stay for about five minutes cause I was scared. I didn't want to be around her. But when I went in for that mobile treatment. It didn't take long before I started getting really emotional and I started sharing, and getting close to people. I was scared that they would walk away from me. I was scared of losing...I was also scared that people that cared would be there for a while and then walk away and I wouldn't know where to go. I still have those feelings at times. There was a lot of caring. It was overwhelming for me.

It was out of this type of sharing and caring that the bonds of trust were built. It was, however, a slow process starting with just three people and very gradually spreading to others in the community. The following excerpt indicates how people see the process in retrospect.

I. I noticed in the team meeting that you each have a lot of personal power. Nobody's holding back, each person says what they feel when they feel it and you're also very able to outline your choices and take action. I didn't see that ten years ago at all. What did you need before you could do that? I don't imagine it started just like that.

D. It started with these three people here. When we used to meet. If I felt like crying, I'd rush into her office and cry there. Whether I was up or down, just giving each other support, and then it started to build.

I. So it started by getting the emotional support between the three of you.

B. To build trust with somebody, too. Like I've known C. a long time and we didn't really trust each other much for quite awhile. We each had a job to do and we were circling around each other the whole time, I guess because we're both boss from a different point of view. But not really trusting each other. I didn't notice any change in that till first C. went for treatment, but then second until this other group here started to work, and I think C. found out that there was somebody in her life that she could trust. It wasn't me, it was D. and A. It started to open up. I noticed this as an outsider, watching. There was a big difference in these guys. They started to trust each other and they were able to accomplish things. Little things first and then bigger things. It spread to the rest of us. Being able to trust other people and to know that if I say something that sound stupid, I'm not going to get fired right away for saying it. Well, that's pretty important. Otherwise you can't do your job, you spend your whole time doing like most white bureaucrats do, covering your ass the whole time. In which case you accomplish virtually nothing. As a group we've accomplished lots because we're able to trust each other and accept that we're going to screw up once in a while. But just because a guy screws up once in a while doesn't mean you have to kill him.

In the context of a sharing community, people found that they could take chances with new behaviors and change some of their beliefs.

D. I didn't feel that back in '85. When I went into treatment I found a place where it felt really good. There was a lot of growth, love and caring. People understood where I was. I could relate to people because they had the same problem as I had. So at the end of the treatment I just didn't want to come back. So when I got my marble I felt like I was going to be thrown out into the cold. It was really scary. Despite the fact that my kids were with my mom, I just didn't want to come back. That's how bad the atmosphere was around here.

The neat thing for me is that of all the people that have been in treatment now and to have meetings such as the meeting we've had today, one of the greatest things that I've seen recently is the young people standing up to the adults saying how do you expect us to respect you guys when you guys are still using. The young people have a far better chance when they can stand up to the adults and say you've got a problem how do you expect me to respect you. Because in our culture you don't talk to an elder like that. Not to stand up and say we've worked on our problems, how about you guys.

I. So as you develop a better sense of self, do you find that you start to break the rules of the culture in order to grow?

D. Not exactly, because a lot of people are using culture as a skirt to hide behind. They go back to those three rules, don't feel, don't trust, don't talk.

I. It's an alcoholic culture not an Indian culture.

D. But they try to use that, they throw that in. You're supposed to respect the elders, you can't talk to them that way. They have so much knowledge but how can they give it away when they're still using (alcohol).

C. I learned something when I went to my last training. I learned that there is a difference between an old person and an elder. An elder doesn't drink, an old person does. I was always stuck on respecting an elder, but they're only called an elder if they're not drinking.

Individual Commitment to the Community Vision

The people within the O'Chiese community felt that much of the reason for their success to date has been because each person has been able to make an individual commitment to the success of the community development process. To this extent, the circular type of organizational structure has facilitated the feeling that there is no boss. Everyone is responsible for the success of the community and everyone shares the credit for what successes do take place.

The following are some of the comments individuals made about the importance of the commitment of each individual.

A. I think that's one of the things that I like best about when I first started working here is, well, I'm not a very professional person and I didn't feel I had to be professional. Like social worker or welfare lady or whatever and that's one of the things, I think, that made me part of the community. I felt comfortable going into homes and I'd drink tea and talk about the weather, and I think that's what I did for the first year. For me, that's one of the positive things that I did and helped me to be accepted.

B. I think a lack of professionalism, it sounds funny, but I think it's an asset.

E. Maybe it's not lack of professionalism. Maybe it's more personalism.

B. Maybe we need a redefinition of what professionalism is. Most of us, with the exception of E. and Y., are really not qualified to be doing what we're doing. And it works better that way. But all of us have some close connection or empathy with the community and that's far more important.

E. I think that was one of the reasons why it worked because it was based on individual people's commitment. Like it wasn't somebody else's agenda, it wasn't somebody else's idea forced on other folks to act it was people here who had made a commitment to - Like you said, C., originally it was to the community. Then you realized it was to yourself and that's why it was successful.

B. I think it was individual decisions taken by every person.

The following excerpt illustrates the way people felt about the circular organizational structure with no boss.

D. Like with L., nobody ever saw her as a psychologist, we just saw her as a friend. Just being ourselves and just being on the same level, being equal with each other. I remember that one night, after a dance, there was a whole bunch of us. [The Chief] was mopping up the floors with everybody else at the gym.

E. That's part of the success too, if people feel that they own or they are a part of what's going on, then it increases the chance of success. Then they can take credit for it going O.K. It's not because somebody else did it it's because they had a piece in it that it worked.

I. So they had some responsibility and they put in something from themselves?

E. Mmhmm. And then they get stuff in return. Like the credit the people in the community have for that success.

D. There's no boss and no person that makes all the decisions.

B. Some of us had a lot of trouble with that. I admit to being one of them. I have to give L. some credit for having changed my mind, for one, that things could work without a boss. I never heard of or thought of such a thing in all my life. (Laughter) It's true, I mean I know I'm wrong - was wrong.

A. How many of us were swearing under our breath at B., eh, at one time?

The whole community development process seemed to start with the individual's commitment to his own growth and development. Out of that blossomed a commitment to the community vision. Then, in the process of striving to achieve the community vision, people noticed that again, positive changes occurred in their own lives.

I. Did it change your family life, B.?

B. My family life has changed a lot and, in part because of what's going on here, yeah. Not completely.

E. I think that's what everybody's saying. It's like you as a person might have certain job but you're the same person in your family, and in your job and when you're playing, and if you're healthy then I think you're going to notice that the problems [and successes] in all three settings are also part of the changes in all three settings.

I. So it's like you don't have a compartment for - in this part of my life I'm a social worker, and in this part of my life I go have fun. It's all together.

A. Congruent.

The Ongoing Nature of the Process

The people of the O'Chiese community realize that they are in the middle of a process. They are pleased with their accomplishments to date, but clearly see that, while progress has been made, it is an ongoing process. As they focus on one goal, they become aware of other side effects that must either be addressed or encouraged.

C. Do you want to give her your opinion on what happened with you? How you saw it, why it worked?

G. Why it worked?

B. I don't like that when people say why it worked. I don't mind if somebody says why it's working. It really gives me a funny feeling when people say why it worked. It sounds like a whole bunch of [inaudible] rode up here on a bunch of camels and jumped off and fixed all these sick people. And now we're going around telling everybody how to do it somewhere else and that's not it. We're only part way into this. We're in the middle of working. We feel encouraged.

I. Is the number one objective of the Band to keep people sober? Your efforts aren't directed anywhere else right now?

B. We all trust that all of the other things like employment and what not will fall into place on their own, by sort of human nature or something, once...You can see it already, it's working around here. Now, when the men are sober and halfway healthy, they don't feel like they've been cheated if they put in a full day's work. Before, they thought they were cheated if somebody actually made them work. Now they, sort of, are more active. They work on their own. They don't need to be threatened.

G. That's the way it was when I started in this office here two years ago. They'd come in and you'd put them on the work program and you wouldn't see them until Friday. Then they'd say O.K. I've been working for a week whereas they'd just come in for a while and go home and sleep. But now we're working on getting like [the outside community]...and working the same hours as other people. We're trying to teach them that working proper hours means that you don't take off. It's improved quite a bit.